a. 4824.
4 Ac

THE

HISTORY

OF

The Parthian Empire,

From the Foundation of the MONARCHY

BY

ARSACES,

To its final Overthrow

BY

ARTAXERXES the *Perſian:*

Contained in a Succeſſion of

Twenty nine KINGS.

Compiled from the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians and other Writers, and the Chronology ſettled.

By *THO. LEWIS*, M. A.

LONDON.

Printed for SAMUEL ILLIDGE, under *Serle's-Gate* in *Lincoln's-Inn New Square*; and JOHN HOOKE at the *Flower-de-Luce*, over-againſt St. *Dunſtan's-Church*, *Fleet-ſtreet*.

MDCCXXVIII.

K

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

7 Pd

THE PREFACE.

HAD the *Parthian* Affairs been delivered down to us with the ſame Care and Perſpicuity which generally appear in the Hiſtories of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, it cannot be doubted but their Policy, their Cuſtoms, their Revolutions and martial Acts would have afforded a proper Entertainment, and given great Satisfaction to all who delight to inquire into the State and Tranſactions of former Ages; for a People ſo renowned in War, and of ſo large a Dominion, as to ſucceed into the Conqueſts of *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, and to ſubdue the greateſt part of the *Perſian* Monarchy, muſt have been a noble Subject for Hiſtory, eſpecially conſidering from what ſmall Beginnings they raiſed themſelves, and became formidable not only to the Warlike Nations that ſurrounded them, but the Twang of their Bow-ſtrings ſounded as far as *Rome*, and (as the *Roman* Writers confeſs) frequently ſtruck a Terror into the Capital of the World.

BUT thoſe *Barbarians* that plunder'd the *Roman* Empire, and the principal Monuments of Learning with it, have deprived us of many valuable Memoirs, that particularly related to the *Parthian* Hiſtory; had the Writings of *Poſſidonius*, of *Trogus*, *Polybius*, *Dio Caſſius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and ſome others been tranſmitted to us complete, the Reader would have had much more Delight, and the Compiler found leſs Trouble in collecting and digeſting of this Work. Theſe are Misfortunes that can only be lamented, and therefore from the Loſs of theſe Authorities, the Difficulty muſt have been the greater in diſcovering and adjuſting the perplex'd Succeſſion of the *Parthian* Kings, in collecting the rough Materials, in comparing the broken Fragments, in ſhaping them into Proportion, and ranging them in becoming Order; ſo that if there ſhould be any Uniformity in the Style or Regularity in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, though it may not eaſily be perceived by a common Obſerver, yet thoſe who are converſant in Antiquities, and ſuch abſtruſe Studies, are able to judge what Labour and Application were required to it.

THIS Hiſtory, I am afraid, will not afford that Pleaſure and Eaſe which ought to appear in Compoſitions of this Nature;

ture; and I confeſs the Style and the Contexture might have been formed, and made more agreeable, had I taken the Liberty freely uſed by ſome Writers, who when Authorities fail them, rather than there ſhould be a Breach in the Relation, or any Difficulty in adjuſting the Circumſtances and Incidents of the Story, very generouſly ſupply the Want, out of their own Fancy, to ſupport what they call the Juſtneſs and Thread of the Narration. This Practice might be commendable enough in Authors of Fiction and Romance, who have nothing to ſupply the Defect of Truth, but the Chain of the Diſcourſe, and the Cadence of the Periods; but a Hiſtory that ſtands ſupported by Authority ought to keep up to that Standard, and reſt contented with the Evidence that is to be had, and cannot be charged with any notable Defect if the Compiler has made proper Uſe of his Materials, and has clear'd the Way as far as the Lights he had were able to guide him. No more is to be expected from the following Pages, than a juſt Collection (without the Aſſiſtance of Art or Ornament) of whatever has been mentioned upon the Subject, and the Reader, I preſume, will at one View and in one continued Narration find all the remarkable Accounts that have been looſely and obſcurely

ſcurely diſperſed in ancient Writers, that directly relate to the Riſe and Fall of the *Parthian* Empire.

It may be proper to add, that the Kingdom of *Parthia* lay in *Aſia*, and was a Part of the ancient *Perſia*, ſituated between *Hircania*, *Media*, *Aria*, *Carmania*, and the modern Province of *Fars*; that is, *Perſia*, properly ſo called. *Ptolemy* in his Time reckons in this Kingdom twenty five Cities, whereof the Capital was *Hecatompylos*, which is underſtood to be the modern *Haſpaam*, in the Province of *Hierach*, *Arack*, or *Erak-Atzem* in *Perſia*, as that Province together with *Khoemus* and a part of *Coraſan*, are underſtood to comprehend at this Time the ancient *Parthia*.

A TABLE

A TABLE OF THE *Parthian* Kings.

Page.

ARSACES — — 1
Arſaces Tiridates — — 10
Arſaces Artabanus I. — — 17
Arſaces Phriapatius — — 24
Arſaces Phrahates I. — — 26
Arſaces Mithridates — — 28
Arſaces Phrahates II. — — 36
Arſaces Artabanus II. — — 44
Arſaces Mithridates II. — — 46
Arſaces Mnaskires — — — 51
Arſaces Synatrockes — — 54
Arſaces Phrahates III. — — 56
Arſaces Mithridates III. — — 73
Arſaces Orodes I. — — — — 79
Arſaces Phrahates IV. — — 142
Arſaces Prahataces — — — 186
Arſaces Orodes II. — — — 188
Arſaces Vonones I. — — 190
Arſaces Artabanus III. — — 194
Arſaces Gotarzes — — 232

Arſaces

Arſaces Bardanes — — — 235
Arſaces Gotarzes reſtored — — 250
Arſaces Vonones II. — — 256
Arſaces Vologeſes I. — — — 258
Arſaces Pacorus — — 319
Arſaces Choſroes — — 321
Arſaces Vologeſes II. — — 332
Arſaces Monneſes — — — 339
Arſaces Vologeſes II. reſtored — 341
Arſaces Vologeſes III. — — 344
Arſaces Artabanus IV. — — — 354

THE HISTORY OF THE PARTHIAN Empire.

The Reign of ARSACES.

PARTHIA, a Country mean and obscure for many Ages, fell among the Ruines of the *Persian* Empire into the Hands of *Alexander* the Great, and so contemptible was the *Parthian* Nation among the Conquests of that Prince, that after his Death not one of his Captains would accept of the Sovereignty over them; so that the Command (says *Justin*[a]) devolved upon a Stranger one *Statanor*, who yet paid Homage and Tribute to the *Macedonians*. They first served in the Armies of *Eumenes*, and after his Death followed the For-

[a] Justin lib. 41.

tune of *Antigonus*, and then ſubmitted to *Seleucus* and his Succeſſors, Kings of *Syria*; at length headed by one *Arſaces*, they revolted, and after many Changes and Revolutions, they arrived at that Height of Greatneſs, that had they made proper Advantages of their Victories and good Fortune, they had bid fair to have wreſted from the *Romans* the Empire of the Eaſt. This Defection fell out about two hundred and thirty ſix Years before the Birth of Chriſt, four hundred ninety eight after the Building of *Rome*, *Lucius Manlius Vulſo*, and *Marcus Attilius Regulus* being Conſuls, and from this Time commences the *Æra* of the *Arſacidæ*.

ÆR. ARSAC. I.

[a] The *Parthians*, (ſays the Hiſtorian) as if they had divided the World with the *Romans*, poſſeſſed the Empire of the Eaſt. They were originally *Scythians*, baniſhed out of their own Country, as may evidently be collected from their Language; for, in the *Scythian* Tongue, a *Parthian* ſignifies *a Man baniſhed*. In the Times of the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians* they were the moſt obſcure of all Nations; and afterwards, when the Eaſtern Empire was tranſlated from the *Medes* to the *Perſians*, like People without a Name, they always became a Prey to the Conquerors. At laſt the *Macedonians* having triumphed over the Eaſt, ſubdued them; and indeed it appeared wonderful, that by their Courage they became ſo fortunate as to reign over thoſe Nations, under whoſe Command they were accounted before but as a Race of Slaves. And being engaged in three terrible Wars with the greateſt Generals of the *Romans*,

[a] Juſtin lib. 41.

when

when the Empire was in its greateſt Glory, they were of all Nations, not only their Equals but their Conquerors. Though it adds more to their Honour, that they were able to form themſelves into an Empire, ſurrounded as they were by the Power of the *Aſſyrians*, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and the *Bactrian* Kingdom, famous for a thouſand Cities, than that they ſhould conquer ſo remote a Nation. Beſides, they were continually harraſſed with Wars againſt the *Scythians*, and other neighbouring Kingdoms, and reduced to many Extremities. This People expelled from their Country for their domeſtick Seditions, ſeized in a ravaging Way upon the deſart Places among the *Hircanians*, the *Dahæ*, *Arii*, the *Spartani* and *Margiani*; and their Neighbours neglecting them at firſt, began to oppoſe them when it was too late, for they ſo far enlarged their Borders, as to poſſeſs not only the low and ſpacious Plains, but the ragged Cliffs and Rocks of the Mountains. From whence it comes to paſs, that either intenſe Heat, or violent Cold, generally affects the Boundaries of the *Parthian* Kingdom, for when Snow covers the Mountains the Plains are burnt up with Heat.

[a] The Government of this Nation, after the Fall of the *Macedonian* Empire, was Monarchical, the Eſtate of the Commons was next in order to the Majeſty of their Kings, out of this Body they were ſupplied with Generals in War, and Magiſtrates in Peace; they ſpeak a mixed Language, according to the Situation of their Country, between the *Scythian* and the *Median*. Their Habit was at firſt after

[a] Juſtin lib. 41.

the Fashion of their own Country, but when they grew opulent and powerful, they introduced the *Median* Garb that was loose and transparent. In their Wars they used both their own and the *Scythian* Discipline; they have not as other Nations an Army composed of Freemen, but the greatest Part of it consists of Slaves, and their Numbers increase daily, for they are born Slaves, and by their Constitution they can never be made free; yet they take as much Care of the Education of these as of their own Children, and teach them the Exercises of Shooting and Riding with great Application. The richer any Man is, the more Horses he furnishes for the King in his Wars. When they met *Antiochus* in the Field with Fifty thousand Horse, there were no more than Four hundred that were free-born. They have no Notion of fighting Hand to Hand, or to take Cities by Storm. * They always fight on Horseback, either charging or wheeling about.

* ——— Parthus per Medica rura,
Sarmaticos inter Campos, effusaque plano
Tigridis arva solo, nulli superabilis hosti est
Libertate fugæ: sed non ubi terra tumebit,
Aspera conscendet montis juga nec per opacas
Bella geret tenebras, incerto debilis arcu,
Nec franget nando, violenti vorticis amnem,
Nec tota in pugna perfusus sanguine membra
Exiget æstivum calido sub pulvere solem.
Non aries illis, non ulla est machina belli:
Haud fossas implere valent: Parthoque sequente
Murus erit, quodcunque potest obstare sagittæ.
Pugna levis, bellumque fugax, turmæque vagantes,
Et melior cessisse loco, quam pellere miles,
Illita tela dolis, nec Martem cominus unquam
Ausa pati virtus, sed longe tendere nervos
Et, quò ferre velint, permittere vulnera ventis.

Lucan lib. 8.

* They

[a] They often pretend to fly, that their Purſuers may lie the more open to their ſwords, and unprepared receive the Second Impreſſion of their Charge. They ſound to Battle not with a Trumpet, but with a Drum. They cannot long bear the Heat of Action, for they were not to be endured, if they held it out with the ſame Vigour which they always ſhew at the [b] firſt Onſet. They frequently forſake the Battle in the very Heat of the Charge, and immediately when they pretend to fly, they rally and renew the Fight; and when you think you are moſt ſure of Succeſs, you are in the greateſt Danger of being overcome. Their Defence for [c] themſelves and their Horſes is a Sort of Armour, joyned together like Feather-work, which covers the whole Bodies of both; they have no Uſe either of Gold or Silver, but to adorn their Arms.

[d] The *Parthians* are a very libidinous People, and for that Reaſon allow the Enjoyment of many Wives; nor is any Crime more ſeverely puniſhed among them than Adultery, and therefore they forbid their Women the Company of Men, not only at their Feaſts, but alſo the Sight of them: They eat no Fleſh but what they procure by Hunting: They are always carried on Horſes; on them they manage

[a] ——— Nec patitur Scythas,
Et verſis animoſum equis
Parthum dicere. Hor. Carm. lib. 1. Ode. 19.
Fidentemque fugâ Parthum verſiſque ſagittis. Virg. Georg. 3.
[b] ——— Ut nervo pulſante ſagittæ
Prima leves incunt ſi quando prælia Parthi. Virg. Georg. 4.
[c] ——— Credas ſimulacra moveri
Ferrea, cognatoque viros ſpirare metallo,
Par veſtitus equis. Claudian.
[d] Juſtin ibid.

their Wars, on them they celebrate their Feasts, and perform all publick and private Offices; on them they ever move or stand still, they trade and discourse. The Difference between their Slaves and Freeborn is this, that their Slaves go on Foot, but their Freemen ride. Their common Burial is to be devoured by Birds or Dogs, their bare Bones are buried in the Earth. In their Superstitions and Worship of their Gods, they pay the greatest Veneration to the Rivers. The Temper of the Nation is haughty, seditious, [a] treacherous, and petulant; Fierceness they think belongs to Men, and Mildness to Women; they are ever restless and embroiled either with foreign or domestick Commotions. They are more ready to act than to speak, and cover their good and their bad Fortune with Silence. They are prone to Lust, but sparing in their Diet; they have no Regard to their Words or Promises, any further than their Interest is concerned. Their Kings (says *Plutarch* [b]) employ themselves becoming their Dignity and martial Honour, for their Diversion is to sharpen the Points of their Arrows, Darts, and Javelins; and the People have such a superstitious Veneration for their Princes [c], that they never approach them, but in an humble Manner, touching the very Ground with their Mouths; but this Submission (as *Justin* remarks [d]) they pay not out of Reverence but for Fear.

[a] Invenior Parthis mendacior. Hor. Epist. lib. 2. Epist. 1.
[b] Plutarch. in Demetrio.
[c] Strab. lib. 13. Agathias lib. 1:

——— Regem non sic Ægyptus, & ingens
Lydia, nec Populi Parthorum aut Medus Hydaspes,
Observant. Virg. Georg. 4.

[d] Justin lib. 41.

The

The *Parthian* Revolt fell out in the Reign of *Antiochus Theus* King of *Syria*. This Prince was engaged in a War with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, who ſo troubled and diſtreſſed his Affairs, that moſt of the Eaſtern Provinces of his Empire took Occaſion to rebel. The firſt who threw off the *Syrian* Yoke, and ſet up for himſelf, was *Euthydemus* a *Greek*, who had the Government of *Bactria*, and the neighbouring Nations; but he left his Deſigns unfiniſhed, and died, having never aſſumed the Title of a King; but his Succeſſor *Diodotus* perfected the Work, and called himſelf King of *Bactria*; that Country having a Thouſand Cities in it, he brought them all under his Obedience, and *Antiochus* having his Hands full upon the Account of the *Egyptian* War, the Uſurper became too ſtrong afterwards to be reduced. This Example was followed by other Nations, ſo that *Antiochus* loſt almoſt all the Eaſtern Provinces of his Empire that lay beyond the *Tigris*.

Arſaces, the Founder of the *Parthian* Monarchy, is ſaid to have been a [a] *Bactrian*, who, with his Brother *Tyridates*, oppoſed the Uſurpation of *Diodotus* in Defence of the *Syrian* King; but the Revolters carrying all before them, they fled to *Pericles*, (called *Agathocles* by *Syncellus*,) who, under *Antiochus*, was then Governor of *Parthia*. [b] This Man (among his other Vices) was addicted to Sodomy, a common Practice in the Eaſtern Countries, and fixing his Eyes upon the Perſon of *Tyridates*, who had a fine Shape and a beautiful Complexion, his Luſt was immediately inflam'd, ſo that he

[a] Strabo lib. 11.
[b] Arrian in Parthicis. Zozimus Hiſt. lib. 1.

attempted to force the Youth to gratify his Paſſion. *Arſaces* ſoon heard of the Indignity, and to reſcue his Brother from this unnatural Violence, he reſolved upon the Death of the Governor; and admitting a few more into the Conſpiracy, ſoon found an Opportunity to fall upon *Pericles* and ſlew him. To vindicate this Fact, and to defend himſelf, he raiſed Forces; and being ſupported by a good Body of Troops, he ſeized upon the Government, and being neglected by *Antiochus*, he ſoon grew ſtrong enough to expel the *Macedonians* out of the Province; and, after the Example of *Diodotus*, declared himſelf King of *Parthia*.

ÆR. ARSAC. 2. Hiſtory records but little concerning the Exploits of this Prince after the Foundation of his Empire, only that he met with continual Diſturbances from his Neighbours; but, reſolved to defend and ſecure what he had ſeized, he defeated his Enemies in ſeveral Battels with Bravery and Succeſs, and attained ſo great a Character among his Subjects, by his Conduct and Courſe of Victories, that he left his Name to his Succeſſors; and *Arſaces* was one of the Titles of all the ſucceeding Kings of *Parthia*.

Strabo, as was beforeſaid, deduces the Origin of *Arſaces* from *Bactria*; but [a] *Juſtin* relates, that his Family and Deſcent was uncertain; inſomuch, that when he was poſſeſſed of the Sovereignty, in order to raiſe himſelf in the Opinion of his People, [b] he gave out, that he was deſcended lineally from *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, one of the *Perſian* Kings, who had firſt the

[a] Juſtin. lib. 41.
[b] Cteſias in Fragm. Perſ.

Name

Name of *Arſaces*. This is contradicted by [a] *Arrian*, who obſerves, that this Prince and his Brother *Tiridates* were the Grand-children of one *Phrapates*, now the Syllables *Phra* and *Art* ſignify *Moſt Excellent*, and *Supreme*, and are uſually prefixed to proper Names, as Diſtinctions of the greateſt Honour and Dignity among the *Perſians*.

The Seat of his Reſidence he fixed at [b] *Hecatompylos*, a City built by the *Macedonians*, which continued to be the Palace of the *Parthian* Kings. *Arſaces*, vexed with continual Wars for the eſtabliſhing of his Power, was killed in an Engagement (ſays *Suidas*) by a Wound in his Side by a Spear, after a Reign of two Years and ſome Months: [c] A Prince of great Courage and military Experience; and ſo diſtinguiſhed by the Writers that ſpeak of him, that the whole Nation of the *Parthians* have been called *Arſacidæ*.

[d] *Plus illa vobis acie, quam creditis, actum eſt* Arſacidæ. ———

And [e] *Tacitus*, by *the Throne of the Arſacidæ*, intended to ſignify the whole Compaſs of the *Parthian* Empire.

[a] In Parthicis apud Photium.
[b] Qu. Curtius lib. 6. c. 2. Strabo lib. 11.
[c] Syncell. Chron. pag. 284.
[d] Lucan lib. 1.
[e] Tacit. lib. 1. *Arſacidarum Solium.*

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Tiridates.

Ær. Arsac. 3.

UPON the Death of *Arſaces*, his Brother *Tiridates* took up the Reins of Government, and declared himſelf King of *Parthia*. He aſſumed to himſelf the Name of *Arſaces*, as did all his Succeſſors, after the Cuſtom of the *Roman* Emperors, who were all called *Cæſars*. The Actions of this Prince have been confounded with thoſe of his Predeceſſor, becauſe he bore the ſame Name; which has led Hiſtorians into Miſtakes, particularly a learned Writer of our own Nation. [a]

Arſaces the Second, whom we ſhall call *Tiridates*, began his Reign in the third Year of the *Arſacidæ*. [b] He was a Prince of undoubted Courage, but of a weak and tender Conſtitution from his Youth. He found great Troubles, in the Beginning of his Reign, from

[a] Dr. *Prideaux*'s Connect. Part 2. Book 2.
[b] Juſtin lib. 41. Strabo lib. 11.

the

the *Macedonians*, who diſowned his Sovereignty; but he ſoon brought them to Obedience by the Force of his Arms; and ſuch as refuſed, he drove out of his Kingdom; and, in a ſhort time, he had ſo eſtabliſhed his Authority, that he was often called [a] *Arſaces* the Great, tho' he never publickly inſiſted upon that Title.

The Eſtabliſhment of the *Parthian* Empire was principally owing to the Wars between *Antiochus Theus* King of *Syria*, and *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*. The firſt of theſe having no Opportunity to look after the revolted Provinces, made Peace with the *Egyptian* King, who ſoon after died; nor did *Antiochus* long ſurvive, being poiſoned by his Servants. He left behind him two Sons, *Seleucus Callinicus*, and *Antiochus Hierax*, or the *Hawk*; the elder of whom ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Syria*: *Ptolemy Evergetes* ſucceeded his Father in *Egypt*; and, upon ſome Provocations, renewed the War with *Seleucus*, which gave the *Parthian* an Opportunity to make new Conqueſts, and by the Addition of neighbouring Countries, conſiderably to extend the Bounds of his riſing Empire. ÆR. ARSAC. 10.

[b] But after various Events of War, the *Syrian* and *Egyptian* Kings agreed to a Peace for ten Years; ſo that *Seleucus* reſolv'd to attempt a Recovery of the Eaſtern Provinces, and to move with all his Forces againſt the *Parthians*. *Tiridates*, unable to withſtand ſuch Preparations, abandon'd his Kingdom and fled, before *Seleucus* appeared, to the *Sacæ*, a People of *Scythia*; but *Seleucus* was recalled from this Expedition ÆR. ARSAC. 15.

[a] Arrian in Parthicis apud Syncel. [b] Juſtin lib. 27.

to

to defend his Provinces on this Side of the *Euphrates* from an Irruption of the *Gauls*; and having made *Andragoras* Governor of *Parthia*, he returned to *Antioch*.

[a] There was at this Time a Diſpute between *Seleucus* the King of *Syria*, and his Brother *Antiochus*, which ſoon broke out into a War. *Seleucus* having loſt the greateſt Part of his Army in a Battle with *Ptolemy Evergetes*, he deſired the Aſſiſtance of his Brother, and promiſed him as a Reward all the Provinces in the Leſſer *Aſia*, that belong'd to the *Syrian* Empire. *Antiochus* was then at the Head of an Army in thoſe Provinces, and tho' he were then but fourteen Years old, yet being of an aſpiring Nature, he ſoon accepted the Propoſal, not ſo much out of a Deſign to ſave Part of the Empire to his Brother, as to ſeize upon the whole for himſelf. But *Seleucus* being freed from that War without the Aſſiſtance of his Brother, refuſed to ſtand to the Conditions; which brought the Controverſy to the Deciſion of a Battel; in which *Antiochus*, ſupported by a mercenary Army of the *Gauls*, got the Victory, and *Seleucus* hardly eſcaped with his Life. *Tiridates* hearing of this Action, and
Ær. Arsac. 16. inform'd (tho' falſely) that *Seleucus* was conquer'd and ſlain by the *Gauls* in *Aſia*, returns out of *Scythia*, where ([b] ſays *Juſtin*) he lived by Rapine; and with a Company of Thieves and Robbers entring the Borders of *Parthia*, he falls upon *Andragoras* the *Syrian* Lieutenant, and ſlew him, and by that means recover'd the Sovereignty of the whole Kingdom.

Ær. Arsac. 17. The War continued with Violence between *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, which gave great Ad-

[a] Juſtin lib. 27. [b] Lib. 41.

vantage

vantage to the *Parthian* King; for meeting with no Disturbance from Abroad, he began to order his Affairs at Home; he raises an Army, and governs them with good Discipline, he fortifies his Castles and Garrisons, and confirms the Cities in their Obedience; he built (says [a] *Justin*) the City *Dara* on the Mountain *Zapaortenon*, a Place of those excellent Qualities, that nothing in Nature can be more secure or more delightful, it is so invironed with Rocks and Cliffs, that the Safety of the Place has no Occasion for Forces to defend it; and so great is the Fruitfulness of the adjacent Plains, that they are almost oppressed with their own Abundance; such a Variety there is both of Fountains and Forests, that the Valleys are plentifully watered, and the neighbouring People are drawn thither frequently for the Pleasure of Hunting and other Entertainments.

[b] *Tiridates*, by the Dissention of the *Seleucian* Brothers, had nothing to fear from *Syria*; so that he used the Opportunity to increase his Troops, and looking over the Limits of his own Dominions, he enter'd *Hyrcania* that lies upon the Borders of *Parthia*, and conquer'd it; and by that means (says *Justin*) instead of one, he made himself Master of two Kingdoms.

[c] *Diodotus*, as was said before, had invaded *Bactria* in the Time of *Arsaces* the First, and had assumed the Name and the Majesty of a King; but observing that *Tiridates* was daily extending his Territories, and fearing that in time he might prove a dangerous Neighbour, he resolved to hinder the Progress of his Victories, and for that Purpose he raised a great ÆR. ARSAC. 22.

[a] Justin lib. 41. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid.

Army to invade him. *Tiridates* prepar'd to defend himſelf, being at the ſame time under ſome Apprehenſions from *Seleucus*, who he heard had lately got a Victory over his Brother in *Meſopotamia*: But before theſe Deſigns were put in Execution, *Diodotus* died, and was ſucceeded by his Son of the ſame Name: With him *Tiridates* enter'd into a League for their mutual Defence; and by this means, they both ſtrengthned themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of what they had ſeized. The Brothers, notwithſtanding, carried on their War with the ſame Vigour, not conſidering that while they were thus contending for their Father's Empire, they loſt it by degrees to others who were Enemies to both.

Seleucus at length had the Advantage in this War; and *Antiochus* finding no Safety within the *Syrian* Empire, fled to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, whoſe Daughter he had married. So that *Seleucus* having repaired the Diſorders at Home occaſioned by this Diſpute, marched Eaſtward to reduce the Provinces that had revolted. He was met by *Tiridates*, whoſe Army was ſupported by a good Body of Troops ſent him by his Ally the *Bactrian*,[a] and entirely defeated. The Day on which this Battel was fought, was annually obſerved by the *Parthians* with great Solemnity, as the Beginning of their Freedom, and the Foundation of their Liberty.

ÆR. ARSAC 27.

This Succeſs gave *Tiridates* a farther Advantage of eſtabliſhing himſelf in his uſurped Dominions, and he did it ſo effectually, that he made himſelf ſuperior to all Methods that were madet o diſturb him. Encouraged by this Vi-

ÆR. ARSAC. 28.

[a] Juſtin. lib. 41.

ctory,

ctory, he ſeizes upon the neighbouring Provinces, enter'd *Media* with his Army, and reſolved to force it to his Obedience [a]. *Seleucus* alarm'd with theſe Attempts, and having ſome Reſpite from his other Affairs, brought an Army againſt him, but his ill Fortune purſuing him, he was not only overthrown, but himſelf taken Priſoner by the *Parthian*. The principal Cities of *Media* followed the Event of this Battel, and ſubmitted to the Conqueror, and ſo did moſt of the *Grecian* Cities, built in that Country by the *Macedonians*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, and *Rages* it ſelf, that was rebuilt by *Seleucus Nicator*, and by him called *Europus*; but it had afterwards the Name of *Arſacia* from the *Parthians*, in Honour of *Arſaces* the Great, who had ſubdued it.

[b] *Seleucus* was maintained in his Captivity in *Parthia*, with the State and Magnificence of a King, but riding abroad for his Diverſion, he was thrown by his Horſe and died. Some Writers contend, that *Tiridates* and the *Syrian* King had come to an Agreement, and upon Condition that the *Parthian* and his Succeſſors ſhould enjoy the Title and the Authority of a King, he was releaſed, and being on his Journey into *Syria*, he loſt his Life by a Fall from his Horſe. He was ſucceeded by *Seleucus* the eldeſt of his Sons, who took upon himſelf the Name of *Ceraunus* the *Thunderer*. Ær. Arſac. 29.

As ſoon as this young Prince heard of the Captivity of his Father, urged on by the Force of Duty and Revenge, he raiſes a new Army Ær. Arſac. 31.

[a] Poſſidonius Hiſt. lib. 16. apud Athen. lib. 4.
[b] Juſtin lib. 27.

against *Tiridates*, but before his Troops were ready to march, he heard of the Death of *Seleucus*, and so gave over the Design [a]. He marched his Forces against *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had possessed himself of all the lesser *Asia*, from Mount *Taurus* to the *Hellespont*, after he had sent his Brother *Antiochus* to *Babylon* with an Army, to preserve the Provinces against the Incursions of the *Parthian*.

[b] *Seleucus Ceraunus* was soon after poisoned, by a Conspiracy of his two Generals, and was succeeded by his Brother *Antiochus* in the Throne of *Syria*. He recalled [c] his Army from *Babylon*, and by that Means *Tiridates* had nothing to fear, so that the remaining Part of his Life was employed in the Regulation of his Affairs at home, and confirming the Fidelity of his new Conquests. He died, says *Justin* [d], in a ripe old Age, after he had sate thirty seven Years upon the Throne of *Parthia*. He was a Prince endowed with many excellent Accomplishments and Royal Qualities, tender of the Peace and Happiness of his own Subjects, and of that Justice and Moderation towards the People he had subdued, that many Countries voluntarily submitted to his Government. The *Parthian* Empire became formidable, and of great Extent, under the Administration of *Arsaces* the Great, who, as the Historian [e] goes on, became no less famous among the *Parthians*, than *Cyrus* among the *Persians*, or *Alexander* among the *Macedonians*, or *Romulus* among the *Romans*.

[a] Polyb. lib. 4. [b] Polyb. ibid. [c] Polyb. lib. 5.
[d] Justin lib. 41. [e] Justin ibid.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Artabanus.

ARTABANUS ſucceeded his Father *Tiridates* in the Kingdom of *Parthia*, and after him aſſumed likewiſe the Name of *Arſaces*. He came to the Government in a State of Peace, but the Tranquillity it enjoyed for ſome Years before his Father's Death, vaniſhed away upon his Acceſſion; and he no ſooner found himſelf upon the Throne, but the King of *Syria* was ready to diſturb him. *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *the Great*, having overcome *Molon*, and his Brother *Alexander*, two rebellious Noblemen of *Perſia*, and conquered *Achæus* in the leſſer *Aſia*, reſolved upon an Expedition into the Eaſt, to reduce the Provinces that had revolted from the *Syrian* Empire, and his firſt Attempt was againſt [a] *Artabanus*, who had expelled *Diogenes* the *Syrian* Governor of *Media*, and ſeized upon that Pro- Ær. Ant. Sac. 401

[a] Polyb. lib. 10.

vince. The *Parthian* King ſoon heard of this Deſign, and raiſe a great Army to oppoſe him, not doubting but *Antiochus* might eaſily advance as far as *Ecbatana*, the ancient Seat of the *Median* Kings, but could not conceive that he could pierce further into the deſart Countries, eſpecially for the Want of Water, and with ſuch a Number of Forces.

Ær. Arsac. 47. [a] But when he found himſelf deceived, and that *Antiochus* had enter'd the Deſarts, he attempted to ſtop his Paſſage, and for that Purpoſe diſpatched a Body of his Men to deſtroy all the Wells, and to poiſon the Water. Of this, the *Syrian* King had Intelligence, and immediately ſent away a thouſand Horſe under the Command of *Nicomedes*; who coming to the Place, found that the *Parthian* King had retired, and left only a few Troops to corrupt the Fountains, which were ſoon defeated by the *Syrian* Horſe, and put to the Rout. This Succeſs gave him a ſafe Paſſage through thoſe Deſarts with his whole Army; and entring into *Media*, he ſoon forced *Artabanus* to fly out of the Province. The Country being thus recover'd, *Antiochus* remain'd there ſome time to ſettle the Affairs of the Government, and to provide for the future Operations of the War.

[b] *Antiochus* was early in the Field the following Spring; and entering *Parthia*, pierced into the Heart of the Country as far as *Hecatompylos*, the Metropolis of the Province. Here he ſtayed ſome Time to refreſh his Army, tired with the Length of the March; and finding no Oppoſition from *Artabanus*, he was ſurprized that the *Parthian* had abandoned his Capital;

[a] Polyb. lib. 10. [b] Polyb. ibid.

but

but he ſoon received Intelligence, that he was terrified with the Number of the *Syrian* Forces, and for Security had retired into *Hircania*. *Antiochus* reſolved to purſue him; but (ſays *Polybius*) when he came to a Place called *Tagas*, he had Notice by the People of the Difficulties he would find in the mountainous Places that led into *Hircania*, and that the Enemy had placed a ſtrong Body of Guards in all the Paſſes thro' which he was to march, and that *Artabanus* lay at the Foot of the Mountains to intercept him. Notwithſtanding theſe Diſcouragements, *Antiochus* reſolv'd to paſs the Mountains; and for that Purpoſe he divided his Army into Parties; the Archers, and ſuch as were uſed to throw Stones and Darts, he diſpoſed under the Command of *Diogenes*, with Commiſſion that they ſhould, without any manner of Order, take all Opportunities among the Rocks to annoy the Enemy; two Thouſand armed with Targets were under the Command of *Polyxenides* a *Rhodian*; and a Body defended with Bucklers and Coats of Mail, he placed under one *Nicomedes* of *Coos*, and *Nicolas* an *Ætolian*.

[a] In this Order they began their March, but the Streights of the Paſſage were found much more difficult than was at firſt conceived. The Length of the Aſcent was about three hundred Furlongs, and for the moſt part along the Side of a fierce Torrent very deep, that ſeemed impaſſable by the many Pieces of Rocks and Trees that were fallen in from the Tops of the Mountains, and the Enemy were continually throwing in of Stones and Wood to make the Way the more inacceſſible: But

[a] Polyb. lib. 10.

Antiochus, by diſpoſing of his Men with great Judgment, who fell upon the Enemy together in ſeveral Places, with great Difficulty recover'd the Tops of the Mountains, where there happen'd a bloody Engagement to the Diſadvantage of the *Parthians*; ſo that *Antiochus* deſcended, and came down with his Army into the Country of *Hircania*.

[a] The firſt Place of Note that he came to was a City called *Tambrace*, which was without Walls, but was of ſome Conſequence, and was frequently the Reſidence of the Governors of the Province. *Antiochus* enter'd the Town without Oppoſition, but finding that the principal Inhabitants and Friends of the *Parthians*, and moſt that fled from the laſt Battel, had retired to *Syringis* the Capital of the Country, he marched directly with his whole Army, and beſieged the City. His greateſt Difficulty (ſays the Hiſtorian) was to make Platforms in the Faſhion of a Tortoiſe; the Ditches were triple, about thirty Cubits wide and fifteen deep, and upon either Side a double Rampart with Paliſades, and a ſtrong Out-Wall. Many ſharp Skirmiſhes happen'd in carrying on the Works, with Numbers of Men loſt on both Sides. But the King by his continual Diligence, fill'd up the Ditches, and ſhook the Walls terribly with his Mines, which ſo alarm'd the Enemy, that they killed the *Grecians* that were within the City, and with the beſt of their Effects fled away by Night. The King ſends *Hyperbaſis* with a Body of Mercenaries to purſue them; and falling upon them with great Fury, the *Parthians* leaving their Baggage, retired again into the

[a] Polyb. lib. 10.

City;

City; but they were ſo vigorouſly preſs'd as they were upon the Ruins of the Walls, that deſpairing of Succeſs, they threw down their Arms and ſubmitted to Mercy.

[a] Thus was *Syringis*, the Capital of *Hircania*, taken by *Antiochus* without one Stroke ſtruck by the *Parthian* King. But *Artabanus* recruiting his Army as he retir'd from the Mountains, had gather'd a Body of an hundred thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe; and being purſued by *Antiochus*, he turned about, and faced the Enemy; but with what Succeſs, would have been fully known, had the Hiſtory of *Polybius* been preſerved entire. It ſeems as if the *Parthian* had often the Advantage of the *Syrian* King, for he drew out the War for five Years, ſo that many Engagements happening between the two Armies, *Antiochus*, perceiving how difficult it would be to diſpoſſeſs the Enemy of the revolted Provinces, willingly came to Accommodation, and agreed to a Peace. The Conditions were, That *Artabanus* ſhould enjoy quietly the Provinces of *Hircania* and *Parthia*, upon Terms of aſſiſting *Antiochus* in recovering the other Provinces, particularly the Country of *Bactria*, that had revolted from the *Syrian* Empire.

[b] The two Armies being joined, the War was immediately carried into *Bactria*, that was then poſſeſſed by *Euthydemus*, a Nobleman, who had deprived *Diodotus* the Second of the Government, and declared himſelf King. But after many vain Attempts to drive him out of the Country, *Antiochus* grew weary of the War, and admitted Ambaſſadors from *Euthy-*

ÆR. AR. SAC. 52.

[a] Polyb. lib. 10. [b] Polyb. ibid.

mus to treat of Peace. By them, *Euthydemus* complained of the Injuſtice of the War, ſuggeſting, that he was none of thoſe that had revolted from him; for the Defection of the *Bactrians* from the *Syrian* Empire, was conducted by others before his time; that he was juſtly poſſeſſed of the country by ſubduing the Deſcendants of thoſe Revolters; and therefore by the Succeſs, he juſtly was in Poſſeſſion of the country, as the Price of his Victory. Beſides, his Miniſters informed the King, that the *Scythians* taking Advantage of their Differences, were preparing a great Army to invade *Bactria*; and therefore if they continued the Diſpute much longer, the *Barbarians* had a fair Opportunity to expel them both. The King, moved by theſe Conſiderations, and tired with this troubleſome War, was brought to agree to ſuch Terms as produced a Peace. To confirm which, *Euthydemus* ſent his Son *Demetrius* to *Antiochus*, who was ſo pleaſed with the young Man, that he married him to one of his Daughters; and for his ſake, allowed the Father to take the Title and Style of King of *Bactria*. The *Syrian* King, after a Progreſs thro' many Countries, and an Abſence of ſeven Years upon this Expedition, returned to *Antioch*.

ÆR. AR- 60. AC.

Artabanus having by this means ſecured the Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms, enjoyed the remaining Part of his Life in a profound Peace; but how many Years he govern'd, or in what Year he died, is uncertain, the antient Hiſtories of *Poſſidonius* and *Trogus* being unfortunately loſt; [a] tho' by Computation he is ſup-

[a] Elichman. in notis ad Juſtin.

poſed

posed to have reigned about twenty Years. About his Time began the Kingdoms of *Armenia*, the Greater and the Less; the first by the Revolt of [a] *Artaxias*; the other of *Zaraides*, that govern'd those Provinces under *Antiochus* the Great. The Kings of those Countries will be frequently mentioned in the Course of this History.

[a] Strabo, lib. 11.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Phriapatius.

ÆR. ARSAC. 60.

AFTER the Death of *Artabanus*, the Throne of *Parthia* was filled by *Phriapatius*; for the Succeſſion was generally hereditary, by the Conſtitution of the Kingdom.

[a] *Juſtin*, who, in his confuſed way, makes but one of the two firſt *Parthian* Kings, records, that the third King of the *Parthians* was *Phriapatius*; and he alſo was called *Arſaces*. After a Reign of fifteen Years, he died, leaving behind him three Sons, *Phrahates*, *Mithridates*, and *Artabanus*, who all ſucceeded in the Government.

Nothing more is recorded concerning the Adminiſtration of this Prince. He is ſuppoſed to come to the Crown about the Time that *Antiochus* the Great paſſed into *Europe* to make War with the *Romans*. Whether

[a] Lib. 41.

the

the Empire of *Parthia* made any new Conquests, or lost any of the old, during this Reign, is uncertain. But *Menander*, the Brother of *Euthydemus* King of *Bactria*, and after him *Demetrius*, the Son of *Euthydemus*, carried their Arms into the East with prodigious Success, and conquer'd more Countries than [a] *Alexander* the Great, and those where the Name of that Conqueror was never heard. These new Acquisitions fell afterwards into the Hands of the *Parthians*.

[a] Strabo, lib. 11.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Phrahates.

Ær. Arsac. 76.

PHRAHATES, [a] the eldeſt Son of *Phriapatius*, after the Cuſtom of the Nation, ſucceeded to the Crown of *Parthia*. He was a bold enterprizing Prince, and ſoon after his Acceſſion, he ſet upon the warlike Nation of the *Mardi*, and ſubdued them. Theſe were a barbarous Sort of People, that know nothing of the Decency of human Life, but dig Dens and Caves in the Mountains, where they hide themſelves, with their Wives and Children. They are placed by *Ptolomy* in the Borders of *Armenia* and *Media*.

This Prince did not live long after his Victories over theſe *Barbarians*; for, ſays [b] *Juſtin*, ſhortly after he died, having left many Sons behind him; all of whom being laid aſide, he left his Kingdom to his Brother *Mithridates*,

[a] Juſtin. lib. 14. Q. Curt. lib. 5.
[b] Ibid.

a Man

a Man of excellent Virtue; thinking that he owed more to his Kingdom, than to the Name of a Father, and was more obliged to provide for his Country, than for his Children. He is ſuppoſed to have reigned eight Years, which is all that can be recover'd concerning him.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Mithridates.

Ær. Arsac. 84.

MITHRIDATES, the Son of *Phriapatius*, aſcended the Throne after the Death of his Brother, and was the ſixth from *Arſaces* the Founder of the *Parthian* Empire, for the Succeſſion in that Kingdom, according to [a] *Oroſius* was thus; the firſt King was *Arſaces*, the Second *Arſaces*, called *The Great*, whoſe true Name was *Tiridates*; *Arſaces* or *Artabanus* was the Third, the Fourth *Arſaces* or *Phriapatius*, *Arſaces* or *Phrahates* the Fifth, *Arſaces* or *Mithridates* the Sixth; from whence it is evident that *Arſaces* the Great, muſt be diſtinguiſh'd from *Arſaces* the Firſt, in order to complete the Royal Line of the *Parthian* Kings.

At the ſame Time almoſt, ſays [b] *Juſtin*, that *Mithridates* ſucceeded to the Crown of *Parthia*, *Eucratides* the Son of *Demetrius*, was

[a] Lib. 5. c. 4. [b] Lib. 41.

inveſted

inveſted in the Kingdom of *Bactria*; both of them Men of gallant Spirits, but a more kind Fortune attended the *Parthians*, which under the Conduct of *Mithridates*, led them to the utmoſt height of Glory; whilſt the poor *Bactrians*, diſtreſſed and worn out by ſeveral Wars, in the end were deprived not only of their Kingdom but their Liberty; for being weakned by continual Conflicts with the *Sogdians*, the *Dranganites* and the *Indians*, they were at laſt as Men without Spirit or Blood, ſuppreſſed by an inconſiderable Number of the *Parthians*. Theſe *Bactrians*, ſays *Strabo*, [a] were the Remains of the *Grecians*, who having taken *Bactria* from the Kings of *Syria*, the Succeſſors of *Seleucus Nicator*, ſeized alſo upon *Ariana* and *India*, and got not only *Pattalena* into their Hands, but all the Sea Coaſts, as well that which is called the Kingdom of *Teſſarioſtus*, as that of *Sigartis*; *Apollodorus* (againſt the common Opinion indeed) relates in his Work of the *Parthian* Affairs, that they were Maſters of a greater Part of *India*, than ever was ſubdued by [b] *Alexander* and his *Macedonians*. *Eucratides* had in *India* under his own Juriſdiction a thouſand Cities, he was a Prince of true Courage, and perfectly underſtood the Trade of War, for in his decline of Life, being beſieged by *Demetrius* King of the *Indians*, tho' he had not above three thouſand Soldiers, yet by daily Sallies and Encounters, he waſted the Enemies Army, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand, and raiſing the Siege, he afterwards reduced all *India* under his Command: Theſe Conqueſts were loſt by his Son,

[a] Strabo lib. 11. [b] Juſtin lib. 41.

and became tributary to the *Parthian* Empire.

Ær. Arsac. 91. The *Parthian* Kings always uſed the Advantages of extending their Dominions, whilſt the Kings of *Syria* were at Wars; for at this time [a] *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in order to carry on his War againſt the *Jews*, made an Expedition into *Perſia*, to collect his Arrears of Tribute, and being told that the City *Elymais* in that Country was exceeding rich, and in it there was a Temple of [b] *Diana* full of Treaſure, he marched thither to take the City, and plunder the Temple; but the Inhabitants having had notice of his Deſign, beat him off, and

Ær. Arsac. 93. retiring towards *Babylon*, he fell ſick of an incurable Diſtemper and died. Upon his deceaſe, the *Elymeans*, the *Perſians*, the *Medes*, and other neighbouring Nations revolted from the *Syro-Macedonian* Empire and erected Kingdoms of their own, and the *Parthian*, and the *Bactrian* among the reſt took this Opportunity of eſtabliſhing themſelves, and increaſing the Bounds of their Dominions.

For whilſt *Eucratides* was triumphing over the Eaſtern Provinces, and piercing into the Heart of *India*, *Mithridates* made War upon the *Medes*. The Encounters of theſe two Nations had their interchangable Succeſſes for a while, at laſt the *Parthians* got the better. *Mithridates* being ſtrengthned by the Acceſſion of this Kingdom, appointed [c] *Bacaſis*, one of his Noblemen, his Govenor of *Media*, whilſt he himſelf marched his victorious Army into *Hircania*, part of which Country was ſubdued by

[a] Arrian. in Syriac. [b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 13.
[c] Juſtin. lib. 41.

Arſaces

Arſaces Tiridates, but was now in Rebellion: *Mithridates* ſoon reduced them to Obedience, and laying a heavier Yoke upon them, he engaged in a War with the King of the *Elymæans*, and beat him, and added that Nation to his other Dominions. In this Country, ſays [a] *Strabo*, the *Parthian* was informed of a Temple called *Azara*, devoted to *Minerva* and *Diana*, that was immenſely rich, and finding that he could not prevail upon the People to deliver it up, he attack'd it with all his Forces, and taking it by Storm, he plunder'd it of two hundred thouſand Talents. [b] He likewiſe took *Seleucia*, a City of Note, in the Kingdom of *Elymais*, built upon the River *Hedyphon*, and over-run the whole Country with his Arms.

After the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius* the Son of *Seleucus Philopater*, having been an Hoſtage at *Rome*, found means to eſcape thence, and killing *Antiochus Eupator*, a Minor, the Son of *Epiphanes*, he ſeized upon the Crown of *Syria*. When he was fixed upon the Throne, the firſt Thing that he did, was to deliver the *Babylonians* from the Tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*. Theſe two Brothers were great Favourites of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and the firſt of them he made Governor, and the other Treaſurer of that Province; [c] *Timarchus* having added Rebellion to his other Crimes, was put to Death; the other was baniſhed, and reſided at *Rhodes*, and forming a Plot to dethrone *Demetrius*, he found a Youth of obſcure Condition, called *Balas*, and pretending him to be the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, under the Name of *Alex-*

[a] Lib. 16. [b] Plin. lib. 6. cap. 27.
[c] Appian. in Syriac.

Ær. Arsac. 103. *ander*, he carried him to *Rome*, and procured a Decree from the Senate, not only for his Return into *Syria* for the Recovery of that Kingdom, but likewiſe to have their Aſſiſtance in order to it. This Impoſtor raiſed great Diſturbances in the *Syrian* Empire; which, ſays [a]*Oroſius*, gave *Mithridates* an Opportunity to fall upon the Governor of *Babylon* for *Demetrius*, and having ſlain him, to ſeize upon the Province.

The Civil Wars increaſing in *Syria*, in which *Demetrius* was ſlain, [b] *Mithridates* marched on victorious with new Conqueſts, and ſubdued many Nations of the Eaſt, as far as the Red Sea. Among the reſt, he overthrew the *Perſian* King, whom he did not turn out of his Kingdom, only made him tributary: And by extraordinary Events of War, he extended the Empire of the *Parthians* from Mount *Caucaſus* to the River *Euphrates*.

Ær. Arsac. 111. Nor was *Eucratides*, the *Bactrian*, unactive amidſt theſe Diſturbances of the *Syrian* Empire: But returning from his Victories, he was killed in his March by his own Son, whom he took Partner in his Kingdom; and the Villain was ſo far from diſſembling the Parricide, (as if he, ſays the Hiſtorian, had killed an Enemy, not a Father,) that he drove his Chariot thro' the Blood, and order'd the dead Body to be thrown aſide as unworthy of a Funeral. *Mithridates* hearing of this horrible Act, from a Deteſtation of ſuch Impiety, invaded *Bactria* with a great Army, and ſubdued the Kingdom; but *Eucratides* the Murderer he did not deprive of the Title of a King, he only made him

[a] Oroſius, lib. 5. cap. 5. Juſtin ibid.

[b] Juſtin lib. 41.

tributary.

tributary. After this Expedition, [a] he marched into *India*, and conquer'd all the Countries between the River *Indus* and *Hydaſpes*. The *Sogdians*, the *Arcians*, the *Drangians*, and other *Indian* Nations that were before conquer'd by the *Bactrians*, became his Subjects; and he carried his Arms ſo far as to ſubdue the Countries where *Porus* of old had reigned; and made uſe of his Victories with that Clemency and Moderation, that upon Notice of his Approach, many Countries offered him their Obedience, and thought themſelves inſtated in full Liberty, by being received into the Number of his Subjects. For, ſays the [b] Hiſtorian, *Mithridates* the *Parthian* was advanced to a vaſt Command, and his Dominions had ſcarce any Bounds; he did not debaſe his Mind by Luxury and Pride, (which is the uſual Practice of moſt Princes,) but behaved with as much Clemency as with Valour againſt his Enemies. And when he had brought ſeveral Nations under his Power, he ſelected out of every one of them the beſt Inſtitutions and Laws, and introduced them among the *Parthians*, as the principal Ornament and Security of his Empire.

Demetrius Nicator, or the *Conqueror*, the Son of *Demetrius Soter*, was now, by a Victory over *Alexander Balas*, poſſeſſed of the Crown of *Syria*; but was ſoon diſturbed by *Tryphon*, who had been Governor of *Antioch* under *Alexander Balas*; and having a Son of his in his Poſſeſſion, he ſet up his Right to the Kingdom of *Syria*. This Pretender threw the Empire into great Diſorders; for *Tryphon* having declared him King, marched under his ÆR. ARSAC. 111.

[a] Oroſius lib. 5. Strabo lib. 15.

[b] Diodor. Siculus in Excerpt. Hen. Valeſij. pag. 360.

againſt *Demetrius*; and defeating him, forced him into *Seleucia*, took all his Elephants, and made himſelf Maſter of *Antioch*; and there placed *Antiochus* upon the Throne of the *Syrian* Kings, giving him the Name of *Theos*, or *The Divine*.

[a] *Mithridates*, as before obſerved, having brought to his Obedience moſt of the Kingdoms of the Eaſt; the *Grecians* and *Macedonians* of the upper Provinces not bearing the Inſolences of their new Maſters the *Parthians*, ſent frequent Embaſſies to *Demetrius*; and engaged that if he would but appear among them, they would declare themſelves Subjects of the *Syrian* Empire, and by joining him, expel *Mithridates* out of the Provinces. Encouraged with this Hope, *Demetrius*, with a good Body of Troops, marched over the *Euphrates*, leaving *Tryphon* in the Poſſeſſion of the greater Part of *Syria* behind him. For he concluded by this Aſſociation of the Provinces, he ſhould ſoon reduce *Media* and *Babylon*, and bring the *Parthian* to Terms; and at his Return, chaſe the Rebel *Tryphon* out of the Kingdom of *Syria*. As ſoon as he came Eaſtward, the *Elymæans*, the *Perſians*, and the *Bactrians*, declared for him; and by their auxiliary Troops, he overthrew the *Parthians* in many Engagements: But at laſt being overreached, and drawn into an Ambuſcade by a *Parthian* Nobleman, under Pretence of making a Peace, he was ſeized, and fell alive into the Enemy's Power, and all his Army was cut in Pieces. *Mithridates* having before enlarged his Dominions in *India* beyond the Boun-

ÆR. ARSAC. 116.

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9. Juſtin lib. 36.

daries

daries of *Alexander*'s Conqueſts, by ſubduing *Demetrius*, ſecured *Babylonia* and *Meſopotamia*; ſo that from that Time he had *Euphrates* on the Weſt, as well as *Ganges* on the Eaſt, for the Limits of his Empire. By this means, the Kingdom of *Parthia* was ſo eſtabliſhed as to continue for many Ages, to the Terror of all about them, and to the rivalling of the *Romans* themſelves in the Power of their Arms, and the Greatneſs of their Exploits.

[a] *Demetrius* being thus in the Power of *Mithridates*, he led him, by way of Mockery and Scorn, thro' all the revolted Cities, expoſing him to thoſe who eſpouſed his Cauſe, [b] in Deriſion and Contempt; and afterward committed him cloſe Priſoner, where (ſays *Syncellus*) he was kept in Irons, and upon that Account had the Sirname of *Siderites*. All the Revolters returned to their Obedience, except the *Elymæans*, (ſays [c] *Strabo*) who depending upon the Fruitfulneſs of their Country, and the Number of their Soldiers, refuſed Submiſſion to the *Parthian*. The captive King was ſoon after ſet at Liberty, and allowed a Maintenance ſuitable to his Dignity. *Mithridates* appointed *Hircania* to be the Place of his Reſidence, and gave him his Daughter *Rhodaguna* for a Wife, and promiſed to reſtore him to the Kingdom of *Syria*, which *Tryphon* had ſeized. In this Captivity *Demetrius* continued till the Death of *Mithridates*, which ſoon followed; for he fell into a bad State of Health, and died after a Reign of thirty ſeven Years, in an old Age, no leſs glorious, ſays [d] *Juſtin*, than his Progenitor *Arſaces*. ÆR. ARSAC. 120.

[a] Juſtin lib. 38. [b] Maccab. B. 1. c. 14. [c] Lib. 16.
[d] Juſtin lib. 41.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Phrahates II.

ÆR. AR. SAC. 120. THE Throne of *Parthia*, after the Death of *Mithridates*, was filled by *Phrahates* his Son, who had that Name given him, in memory of his Grandfahter; but upon his Acceſſion, he aſſumed the Title of *Arſaces*, after the Cuſtom of the *Parthian* Kings.

ÆR. AR. SAC. 121. *Demetrius* being a Captive in *Parthia*, *Cleopatra* his Queen ſhut herſelf up with her Children in *Seleucia*, where many of *Tryphon*'s Soldiers revolted to her [a]. But ſuſpecting the Fidelity of the *Seleucians*, and dreading the Calamities of a Siege, ſhe ſent to *Antiochus Sidetes*, or the Hunter, the Brother of her Huſband, to join Intereſts with hers, offering him upon this Condition herſelf in Marriage, and the Crown of *Syria*; for hearing that *Demetrius* had married *Rhodaguna*, in *Parthia*, ſhe

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 12.

reſolved to have no more to do with him, and conceived ſhe could no way provide better for her Safety, than by diſpoſing of herſelf to the next Heir of the Crown; ſhe therefore ſent to him, and made him her Husband.

But *Demetrius* grew uneaſy under his Confinement in *Parthia*, tho' maintained with the Magnificence of a King, and deſpairing to be diſcharg'd with Honour, he formed a Deſign to eſcape into his own Kingdom. His Friend *Gallimander* (according to *Juſtin*) was both his Companion and Adviſer in contriving this Buſineſs, who after his Captivity in *Syria*, having hired a Guide, brought him diſguiſed in a *Parthian*'s Habit, thro' the Deſarts of *Arabia* to *Babylon*. But *Phrahates* by the Swiftneſs of his Horſes, and taking a ſhorter Way, overtook him. Being brought before the King, he not only pardoned *Gallimander*, but gave him a Reward for his Fidelity to his Friend; but having ſeverely blamed *Demetrius*, he ſent him to his Wife in *Hircania*, and commanded that he ſhould be obſerved by a ſtricter Guard. After ſome time, when the Children he had by his Wife ſhould have been a Pledge for his Fidelity, he attempted to make his Eſcape again, having the ſame Perſon for his Friend and Companion; but by the ſame Unhappineſs he was taken again, near the Bounds of his own Kingdom, and being brought back, the King looked on him as a Man of no Honour, and would not admit him into his Preſence. But then alſo being order'd to his Wife and Children, he was ſent back into *Hircania*, and confined to a City, under a Penalty not to ſtep without the Walls; and in reproach of his chil-

*Lib. 38.

diſh Levity, he was bound with golden Chains. It was no Compaſſion of the *Parthians*, nor Reſpect of Conſanguinity that procured this civil Treatment to *Demetrius*; but becauſe the *Parthians* affected the Kingdom of *Syria*, they determined to make uſe of *Demetrius*, againſt his Brother *Antiochus*, as Opportunity of Time, or the Fortune of War ſhould require.

Ær. Arsac. 124. *Antiochus Sidetes*, [a] ſays the ſame Hiſtorian, obſerving that his Father was hated for his Pride, and his Brother made contemptible for his Sloth, that he might not fall into the ſame Vices, having firſt married *Cleopatra* his Brother's Wife, he followed the War with great Reſolution, againſt the Cities that had revolted in the Beginning of his Brother's reign; which being ſubdued, he added them to the Bounds of his own Empire. This victorious Army he reſolved to march into *Parthia*, under a Pretence of delivering his Brother from Captivity, but really to prevent *Phrahates* from making any Attempt upon the *Syrian* Empire. His [b] Preparations for Luxury were no leſs than thoſe for the War, for three hundred thouſand conſiſting of Sutlers, Cooks, Paſtry-men, Confectioners, Scullions, Stage-players, Muſicians, and Whores followed the Army, that made no more than eighty thouſand Men. [c] He entertained conſtantly every Day, ſuch a Multitude of Gueſts, that beſides what was eaten at the Table and taken off by Heaps, every one of the Gueſts carried away with them whole Joints of Meat untouched; Fleſh of Beaſts, of Fowls, of Sea Fiſh ready dreſſed;

[a] Juſtin. lib. 36. [b] Ibid lib. 38.

[c] Poſidon. Apameus Hiſtoriar. apud Athen. lib. 5. cap. 9. & lib. 12. cap. 19. Valer. Maxim. lib. 9. c. 1.

there

there were likewiſe Sweet-Meats provided, made of candid Honey, aud many Coronets of Frankincenſe and Myrrh, with Knots and Ribbands of Gold, which being let down at length, were as high as a Man. The Soldiers imitating that mad Profuſeneſs of their Officers, had ſuch abundance of Gold and Silver, that they drove Silver Nails into the Soles of their Shoes, and trod upon that Metal (ſays *Juſtin* [a]) for the Love of which all other Nations fight with Steel. In their Kitchens alſo, their Inſtruments were of Silver, and their Tents were adorn'd with woven Imagery, as if they advanced rather to celebrate the Solemnity of a Feſtival, than to proſecute the Buſineſs of a War.

[b] *Antiochus* in this Expedition was followed by *John Hircanus*, the High Prieſt of the *Jews*, with a Body of Auxiliaries; and the King no ſooner arrived in thoſe Parts, but many of the Eaſtern Kings, in Deteſtation of the *Parthian* Pride, met him, and offered him themſelves, and the Strength of their Kingdoms, nor was it long before he engaged the Enemy. He overthrew the *Parthians* in three ſeveral Battles, and poſſeſſing himſelf of *Babylon*, he was called *Antiochus* the Great; and the People in all the neighbouring Countries revolting to him, there was nothing left to the *Parthians* but their own Country, and the Boundaries of it. *Phrahates* ſummon'd all his Forces; his General was *Indates*, one of his Noblemen, who was routed with great Slaughter, at the River *Lycus* in *Aſſyria*, beyond the *Tygris*. *Damaſcenus* gives an Account of this Victory. *Antiochus*, ÆR. ARSAC. 126.

[a] Lib. 38. Valer. Max. lib. 9. c. 1.
[b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16.

ſays he, having erected a Trophy near the River *Lycus*, where he overthrew *Indates*, the *Parthian* General tarried there two Days, at the Requeſt of *Hircanus* the *Jew*, becauſe it happened to be one of the *Jews* ſolemn Feſtivals, during which time it was not lawful for the *Jews* to travel: It ſeems that *John* the High Prieſt of the *Jews* aſſiſted *Antiochus* with a Body of Troops in the *Parthian* War, and the Feaſt of Pentecoſt was at that Time the next Day after the Sabbath, when the *Jews* were forbidden to take a Journey. [a] This *John*, having defeated the *Hircani* in Battel obtained the Name of *Hircanus*, and was afterwards diſmiſſed by *Antiochus* into his own Country, with great Honour.

ÆR. ARSAC. 127. The Army of *Antiochus* conſiſting of ſo vaſt a Multitude, they were forced to diſperſe all the Country over for Proviſion; [b] and the Winter approaching, he was obliged to quarter his Forces in ſeveral Cities, at a great Diſtance, which was the Cauſe of his Ruin; for when the Cities found themſelves oppreſſed with free Quarter, and the Injuries of the Soldiers, they revolted to their old Maſters the *Parthians*; and on a prefix'd Day, they reſolved to fall upon the divided Army, before it was poſſible for one to help the other, and this they executed with great Cruelty. *Antiochus* upon the firſt Notice, marched to the Relief of thoſe that were next him, with all the Company he could get together; and in the Way, meeting with the *Parthian* King, he fought him bravely Hand to Hand, but overpower'd by Numbers, and his own Forces deſerting him, he was ſlain, and his whole Army

[a] Sulpit. Severr. Hiſtor. lib. 2. [b] Juſtin. lib. 38.

cut

cut to Pieces. This [a] *Syrian* King had given himſelf up to Gluttony and Drunkenneſs; ſo that it is ſaid, that *Phrahates* upon viewing his Body, thus reproved his Debauchery. *Thy Wine*, Antiochus, *and thy too great Confidence, have deceived thee, for thou thoughteſt in thy large Bumpers and Carouſals, to have guzzled down the Kingdom of* Arſaces [b]. After this Victory the *Parthian* King cauſed the Body of *Antiochus* to be preſerved, and diſpoſing it in a Silver Coffin, he ſent it honourably into *Syria*, to be buried among his Anceſtors. Among the Captives he found a Daughter of *Demetrius*, and he was ſo affected with the Beauty of the young Lady, that he immediately married her.

By this time [c] *Phrahates* began to repent of ſending *Demetrius* into *Syria*, for after he had been defeated by *Antiochus*, in ſeveral Battels, he releaſed the captive Prince, that he might lay claim to the *Syrian* Empire, and by raiſing new Troubles, for recovering his Crown, he might force *Antiochus* to return from *Parthia*, to ſuppreſs them; but having had a complete Victory, and no more was to be feared from *Syria*, the *Parthian* ſent a Body of Horſe after *Demetrius* to bring him back; but he was apprehenſive of this, and had paſſed the *Euphrates* into *Syria*, before theſe Forces could reach the Borders of that Country, and by this good Fortune he recovered his Kingdom.

[d] *Phrahates* upon the Death of *Antiochus*, in revenge for the late Invaſion, reſolved to carry the War into the *Syrian* Empire; but before this Deſign could be executed, he was called

[a] Poſidonius Apam. apud Athen. lib. 10. cap. 12. [b] Juſtin lib. 39. [c] Ibid. lib. 38. [d] Ibid. lib. 42.

home

home to ſettle the Peace of his own Country, that was diſturb'd by the *Scythians*: They were hired as Auxiliaries by the *Parthians*, againſt *Antiochus* in the *Syrian* War, but they came not with their Supplies, till the Buſineſs was over; ſo that the *Parthians* refuſed to give them their Pay. The *Scythians* inraged that they had taken ſo tedious a March to no Purpoſe, inſiſted that they ought to have their Hire, or they ſhould find an Enemy for them to fight with; the *Parthians* returned them a rough Anſwer, which they ſo reſented, that they turn'd their own Carvers, and fell to plundring the Borders.

Ær. Arsac. 128. To ſuppreſs theſe Commotions, [a] *Phrahates* marched his Army, and left behind him, as Viceroy, one *Himerus*, an *Hircanian* by Birth, one of his chief Favourites; who forgetting that he acted as a Deputy, ruled with abſolute Tyranny, and raiſed exorbitant Taxes, and cruelly oppreſſed the Provinces. Many of the *Babylonians* he made Slaves, and ſent them with all their Families into *Media*. He burnt down the Market-place of *Babylon*, ſet Fire to many of the Temples, and pulled down the nobleſt Buildings in the City. He encouraged all Manner of Luxury and Extravagance; and as an Example, [b] *Poſidonius* tells a Story of one *Lyſimachus*, who invited the Deputy, and three hundred more to Supper, and when the Meat was taken off, he preſented to every one of the Gueſts the Silver Cup of four Pounds, in which they had drunk.

The *Parthian* King having drawn upon himſelf the War of the *Scythians*, committed

[a] Juſtin. ibid Diodor. Sicul. in Exceſpt. Vale.
[b] Apud. Athen. lib. 11. ç. 4.

a Miſ-

a Miſtake in the Execution of it, as great as the Injuſtice, by which he brought it upon him, for he relied chiefly upon the *Grecian Mercenaries* who followed *Antiochus* into *Parthia*; many of theſe he had taken Priſoners, and after his Victory, uſed with great Cruelty and Inſolence; but upon this Occaſion, he was forced to liſt them among his own Forces, to encreaſe his Army. The[a] *Grecians* having Arms in their Hands, remembred what they had ſuffered in their Captivity, and reſolved to uſe this Opportunity to be revenged, and accordingly as ſoon as the Armies joined Battel, they went over to the *Scythians*. The *Parthians* were overthrown with terrible Slaughter, and *Phrahates* himſelf was ſlain in the Rout, after he had reigned about ten Years.

[a] Juſtin. lib. 42.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Artabanus II.

Ær. Arſac. 83. THE *Parthian* Affairs, upon the late Overthrow, fell into great Diſorder and Confuſion; inſomuch that the Sons of *Phrahates*, who were very young, were put by the Government; and his Uncle *Artabanus*, his Father's Brother, for Neceſſity of State, was placed in the Throne. Had the *Scythians* and the *Grecian* Mercenaries purſued their Victory, they had an Opportunity of ruining the *Parthian* Empire; but it ſeems they contented themſelves with plundering the Borders, and returned Home. But many Provinces that were tributary to the [a] *Parthians*, taking Advantage of this Defeat, revolted, and the whole Kingdom was over-run by frequent Incurſions of the *Scythians*. At the ſame time *Himerus* increaſed the Calamities of his Country by unheard of Cruelties; and raiſing

Ær. Arſac. 84.

[a] Juſtin lib. 42.

Forces

Forces to ſupport his Tyranny, he ſet up for himſelf, and pretended to the Kingdom. *Artabanus* was ſo employed in defending the Borders, that he had no Opportunity to watch the Motions of *Himerus*; for the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, and other tributary Provinces, were ſubdued by a People of the *Scythian* Race, called *Zocharians*. With theſe the *Parthian* King had many Engagements; but in a Battel he was at laſt, after a Reign of about three Years, wounded fatally in the Arm, and died. ÆR. ARSAC. 132.

THE

THE REIGN OF

Arſaces Mithridates II.

Ær. Arſac. 133.

MITHRIDATES the Second, after the Death of his Father, filled the Throne; whoſe illuſtrious Exploits, gave him the Name of the *Great*. He was no ſooner poſſeſſed of Government, but he ſet himſelf to compoſe the Civil Diſſentions that diſtracted the Kingdom. *Himerus*, that behaved ſo inſolently in the former Reign, he reduced to his Allegiance; and by the Terror of his Arms, he compelled the Provinces that had revolted, to ſubmit again to the *Parthian* Yoke. For, ſays [a] *Juſtin*, being inflamed with the Emulation of the Acts of his Predeceſſors, he excelled their Glories by the Greatneſs of his Virtues. He had many Conflicts with his Neighbours, where he ſhewed great Demonſtrations of his Valour, and added many Nations to the *Parthian* Kingdom; and having fought proſperouſly againſt

[a] Juſtin lib. 42.

the

the *Scythians*, he revenged the Injuries of his Progenitors, and made War at laſt upon *Artoadiſtes*, King of the *Armenians*.

This *Artoadiſtes* was the Son of that *Artaxias* who, as was before obſerved, had ſeized a Part of *Armenia* under *Antiochus* the Great, and declared himſelf King. *Artaxias* was taken Priſoner by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, and *Mithridates* engaged in this War with his Son, towards the latter End of his Reign: But *Artoadiſtes* dying, the War was continued by his Son *Tigranes*, who ſeems to have had the Diſadvantage; for he was forced to ſue to *Mithridates* for Peace; and to confirm it, he deliver'd to him his Son as an Hoſtage [a].

After the Death of *Tigranes* the elder, the *Armenians* had no Regard to his Son that was an Hoſtage among the *Parthians*, but determined to diſpoſe of the Kingdom another way: Which *Tigranes* obſerving, applied to *Mithridates*, that he would aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Father's Dominions; and as a Reward, he would deliver him up a Part of his Territories, (ſeventy Valleys, ſays [b] *Strabo*,) and annex it to his Kingdom. The Conditions were accepted by the [c] *Parthian* King, and ſending *Tigranes* into *Armenia* with a good Body of Troops, he ſoon eſtabliſhed himſelf in his Right, and obtained the Crown [c].

The Troubles in *Parthia* were not yet fully ſettled; of which *Tigranes*, a Prince of great Ambition, taking the Advantage, ſeized upon that Part of his Dominions that he had made over to *Mithridates*; and finding no Oppoſition, ÆR. ARSAC. 157.

[a] Appian in Parthic. [b] Lib. 11.
[c] Juſtin lib. 38.

he invaded the Southern Parts of *Armenia*, that was then govern'd by *Artanes Sophenus*, the Son of *Zaraides*, that had uſurped a new Kingdom under *Antiochus* the Great; and having expelled him by Force, his Dominions by that Means reach'd to the utmoſt Extent of the whole Country of *Armenia* [a].

At this time, the *Syrian* Empire was torn to Pieces by *Antiochus Euſebes*, the Son of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, [b] and *Philip* and *Demetrius Eucharus*, two of the Sons of *Antiochus Grypus*, who had been the laſt King of *Syria*. But *Euſebes* was overthrown by *Philip* in a deciſive Battel, and forced to fly for Succour to the King of *Parthia*; ſo that the two Brothers became poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom. They could not agree about the Diviſion; for *Philip* having ſeized *Antioch*, *Demetrius* marched againſt him; and driving him thence, took the City, purſued him to *Berrhæa*, now called *Aleppo*, and there beſieged him. Upon this *Straton*, Prince of the Place, and a Friend to *Philip*, called in *Zizus* an *Arabian* King; and *Mithridates Sinaces*, a General of the *Parthians*, who overthrew *Demetrius*, took him Priſoner, and ſent him for a Preſent to the *Parthian* King [c]. *Mithridates* entertained him according to his Quality; but he was ſoon ſurprized with a Diſtemper, and died. *Philip*, after the Battel, returned to *Antioch*, and for ſome Time was Maſter of the whole *Syrian* Empire. Upon the Death of *Demetrius*, *Mithridates* the *Parthian* King, ſent back *Antiochus Euſebes* with a Number of Auxiliaries into *Syria*,

[a] Strabo lib. 11.
[b] Porphyrius in Græcis Euſebianis.
[c] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 22.

ria, and put him into Poſſeſſion of ſome Part of his former Dominions, and drove *Philip* out of the City of *Antioch*. But the *Syrian* Empire, no longer able to bear the Calamities brought upon it, by the Princes of the *Seleucian* Race contending for the Sovereignty, called in *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who came into *Syria*, and took Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. Upon this, *Antiochus Euſebes* fled into *Cilicia*, and concealed himſelf among the Faſtneſſes of Mount *Taurus* till he died. *Joſephus* gives a different Account of this Prince, that the Queen of the [b] *Galadeni* made War with the *Parthian* King, and called *Antiochus Euſebes* to her Aſſiſtance; who behaved himſelf gallantly, but in an Engagement was ſlain. How the Truth is to be diſcover'd under theſe Uncertainties, the Reader may judge.

[c] The firſt Correſpondence between the Empires of *Rome* and *Parthia*, was under this Prince: For *Sylla*, the Prætor of *Aſia*, being ſent by the Senate into *Meſopotamia*, to confirm *Ariobarzanes* in the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, Embaſſadors of *Mithridates* came to him near the *Euphrates*, to deſire the Friendſhip of the People of *Rome*. *Orobazus*, a *Parthian* Nobleman, had the chief Management of this Embaſſy. Upon their Arrival, *Sylla* is ſaid to have order'd three Seats to be placed; one for *Orobazus*, another for *Ariobarzanes*, and he ſate in the middle himſelf; and thus he gave Audience to the Embaſſador. *Orobazus*, upon his Return, was put to Death, for degrading the Majeſty of the *Parthian* King; and *Sylla* is

ÆR. ARSAC. 164.

[a] Appian in Syriacis.
[b] Joſeph. Ant. lib. 13. c. 21.
[c] Plutarch in Sylla.

blamed (ſays the Hiſtorian) for this unſeaſonable Example of his Pride. A *Chaldean* Soothſayer, it ſeems, was in the Train of the *Parthian* Embaſſador, who cloſely obſerving the Countenance and Complexion of *Sylla*, and curiouſly conſidering his Features by the Rules of his Art, declared openly, that it was impoſſible but *Sylla* muſt ſoon become a very great Man; and he wonder'd how he could ſuffer it, that he was not already one of the greateſt in the whole World.

Ær. Arsac. 169. *Mithridates* govern'd the Kingdom of *Parthia* with great Glory for thirty ſeven Years, and died in an advanced Age.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Mnaskires.

WHETHER *Mithridates* the Second left any Sons at his Death, there is no Account, and therefore it is not ſo eaſy to be certain of the Prince who ſucceeded him. It is evident that after his Demiſe, the Kingdom of *Parthia* fell into great Diſorders, and was rent in Pieces by Civil Wars, before the Succeſſion could be rightly adjuſted. About this Time *Arſaces Mnaskires* is named by [a] *Lucian*, as King of the *Parthians*; this Prince was the Son of *Phrahates* the Firſt, and born to him in a declining Age. Ær. Arsac. 170.

It has been obſerved, that *Phrahates* the Firſt, for Reaſons of State, tho' he had many Sons, yet put them all by, and left the Kingdom to his Brother *Mithridates* I. ſurnamed the *Divine*, and died in the eighty fourth Year of the Æra of the *Arſacidæ*. *Mnaskires* the Son of

[a] In Macrobiis.

this *Phrahates*, is ſaid by *Lucian*, to have died in the ninety ſixth Year of his Age, ſo that he was about one and twenty Years old at his Father's Death. After the Deceaſe therefore of his Uncle *Mithridates* the Firſt, and of his Son *Phrahates* the Second, and his Uncle *Artabanus* the Second, and his Son *Mithridates* the Second, after the Death of theſe Kings there aroſe a violent Diſturbance in the Empire, between *Mnaskires* and *Sinatrockes*, who were Brother's Children, about the Succeſſion.

Mnaskires inſiſted upon his Right, as being the Son of *Phrahates* the Firſt, the eldeſt of the three Brothers that had reigned; *Sinatrockes* pleaded that he was the youngeſt Son of *Mithridates* the Firſt, after whoſe Death the Crown deſcended to his Brother *Phrahates* the Second, whoſe Heir and Succeſſor he properly was, and therefore the Government belong'd to him. Theſe Diſputes exceedingly weaken'd the *Parthian* State, but ended at laſt, after a bloody War, in the Baniſhment of *Sinatrockes*, and eſtabliſhing his Rival in the Empire.

The neighbouring States took this Advantage to invade the Tributary Provinces, and while the *Parthians* were deſtroying one another by Civil Wars, their Dominions were invaded, and their Kingdom was almoſt reduced within its firſt Boundaries; for at this Time, *Tigranes*, K. of *Armenia*, a formidable Prince and of great Ambition, ſubdued the [a] *Medes* and the *Gordyæans*, and paſſing the *Euphrates*, had ſeized upon *Meſopotamia* and *Paleſtine*, drove the *Parthians* out of *Aſia*, ſlew and rooted out the Sons and Succeſſors of the great *Seleucus*, and

ÆR. ARSAC. 171.

[a] Plutarch. in Lucullo.

carried

carried away their Wives and Daughters Prisoners by Force.

Mnaskires unable to oppose the Conquests of *Tigranes*, contented himself to have expelled his Brother out of *Parthia*; and being a Prince of no enterprizing Genius, and loving his Ease, he finished his Reign in Peace, after he had filled the Throne about eleven Yeaas.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Sinatrockes.

Ær. Arsac. 181.

THIS Prince is placed in the Succeſſion of the *Parthian* Kings, under different Names, he is called *Sinatrockes* [a] by *Lucian*, *Sinatruces* by *Phlegon*, and by *Appian*, *Sintricus*; which variety might eaſily have been avoided, if all the Kings of the *Arſacidæ* had thought fit to have had their proper Names impreſſed upon their Coins. *Mnaskires* is ſuppoſed to have died without Children, ſo that the States of *Parthia* thought fit to recal *Sinatrockes* from his Baniſhment among the *Scythians*, and ſet the Crown upon his Head, when he was about eighty Years old.

Sinatrockes, upon the Account of his Age, finding himſelf unequal to the Weight that uſually attends a Crown, admitted his Son *Phrahates* as a Partner in the Government, and made him General of the Army, in order to recover

[a] In Macrobiis. apud Phot. cod. 97. in Bell. Mithridat.

the

the Provinces that had revolted, during the Civil Wars: The young Prince first attempted to dispossess *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, but without Success; for that King understood the Business of War too well, to give up any part of his new Territories upon the first Summons.

Nothing more can be recover'd concerning the Reign of this *Parthian* King, but that he filled the Throne about seven Years, leaving the Sceptre to his Son *Phrahates* III. Ær. Arsac. 187.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Phrahates III.

Ær. Arsac. 187. PHRAHATES III. ſucceeded his Father in the Throne of *Parthia*; and, notwithſtanding the ill Fortune he met with in his War with *Tigranes* the *Armenian* King, he was, ſoon after his Succeſſion, thought ſo conſiderable as to be courted by *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, to join his Forces with him, in order to humble the Pride of the *Romans*. It has been obſerved that the *Syrian* Empire, almoſt deſtroy'd by the Wars among the *Seleucian* Family, had called in *Tigranes*, and preſented him with the Crown of *Syria*. This Prince had married a Daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, by whom he was prevailed upon to engage with him in a War againſt the *Romans*. This Alliance obliged him to leave the Government of *Syria* to his Lieutenant *Megadates*, after he had reigned with great Moderation about eighteen Years; and ſoon after he was forced to recal his Deputy and all

all his Forces out of that Country, in order to defend himſelf, and to proſecute the War. To perſuade him to join in the League with the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, was the Deſign of the following Letter to *Arſaces*, to be found complete among the Fragments of *Saluſt*.

King Mithridates,

TO

King Arſaces.

'ALL they who in flouriſhing Circum- SALUST. 'ſtances are invited into a Confedera- FRAGM.
'cy in War, ſhould conſider firſt whether 'it be in their Power or not to remain in 'Peace, and next whether the War that is pro- 'poſed be a juſt, a ſafe, and an honourable 'one, or the contrary. The Peace that you 'enjoy ſhould be continued, for any thing I 'ſhould offer to ſay againſt it, if you had not 'Enemies as the moſt Wicked in the World, 'ſo at this Juncture as eaſy to be conquered. 'Strike but in and ſubdue the *Romans*, and you 'will certainly gain an immortal Fame. I 'would not have the Aſſurance to ſollicite you 'to enter into an Alliance with me, nor would 'mix my Adverſity with your Proſperity, 'without the Proſpect of your being a Gainer. 'But the Things that look at firſt ſight like Rea- 'ſons for keeping you from coming into it, ſuch 'as your being at this time engaged in another

'Quarrel

'Quarrel with *Tigranes*; and the evil Condition of my Affairs, will (if you weigh Matters but duly) be the greateſt Incentives to you to join with me. *Tigranes* will, doubtleſs, in the Circumſtance he is in, readily agree to whatever Terms of Friendſhip you ſhall think fit to preſcribe; and as for my Loſſes, they have furniſhed me with Experience, and greater Capacity for managing with Succeſs; and they who are now in the height of their Fortune, may reap from my Condition the Profit of providing in time for their own Security.

'For the *Romans* have had, and will always have one and the ſame conſtant Cauſe of warring with all Princes and Nations, *An inſatiable Thirſt after Wealth and Empire*. It was this that led them to make War againſt *Philip* King of *Macedonia*; and while they were preſſed by the *Carthaginians*, pretending great Kindneſs for *Antiochus*, and making a ſeeming Grant to him of *Aſia*, they cunningly diverted him from ſuccouring the *Macedonian*. But after they had overcome *Philip*, falling upon the ſame *Antiochus*, they ſtripped him of all the Country on this ſide *Taurus*, and ſqueezed out of him ten thouſand Talents. In the next Place they fell upon *Perſes* the Son of *Philip*, who retiring for Sanctuary, after he had fought them ſeveral times, with various Succeſs, to the Gods of *Samos*, theſe Deviſers of Treachery drew him into a Surrender of himſelf upon Articles; by which, becauſe they had granted him his Life, they afterwards thought fit to kill him, by the odious Contrivance of hindering him from Sleep. Then for *Attalus*, who was ſubſtitut-

'ed

'ed only a Keeper for them of a conquered 'Country, of a King, they made him the 'worſt of Slaves, by the high Taxations and 'Affronts that they put on him. Beſides, hav-'ing forged a Will in his Name, they led his 'Son *Ariſtonicus* in triumph, like an Enemy, 'for aiming at his own Inheritance. *Aſia* is 'blocked up and beſieged by them; and, in 'fine, they ſeized upon all *Bithynia*, as ſoon 'as *Nicomedes* was dead, though there was cer-'tainly a Son of *Nuſa*'s, to whom they had 'given the Title of Queen, then alive, to ſuc-'ceed him in the Throne.

'Have I occaſion to ſay any thing of my 'ſelf? With whom, though diſtanced from the 'Bounds of their Empire by Kingdoms and 'Tetrarchies on every ſide, yet becauſe report-'ed to them to be rich, and reſolved againſt 'Slavery, they ſought a Quarrel, by ſetting '*Nicomedes* upon me. Not ignorant of their 'ravenous Deſigns, and having declared openly 'before, what has ſince happened in fact, that 'the *Cretans* themſelves, the only People then 'in the World truly free, and King *Ptolomy* 'would have the ſame Fate. I revenged the 'Wrong done to my ſelf by driving *Nicomedes* 'out of *Bithynia*. I recovered back the Part 'of *Aſia*, of which I told you *Antiochus* had 'been robbed; and I took off from the Neck 'of *Greece* the Yoke of Servitude they have 'put upon it. It was the Baſeneſs of that in-'famous Slave *Archelaus*, in betraying my Arms 'that prevented my Progreſs. And they who 'were kept from taking up Arms by the Cow-'ardice of their Minds, or a wretched Policy 'of thinking to reap the Fruit of my Efforts, 'without joining any of their own, pay ſevere-

'ly for their ſcandalous Conduct. It is with 'vaſt Sums of Money that *Ptolomy* purchaſes 'the Delay only of their falling upon him: 'And the *Cretans*, who have been already at-'tacked, will never ſee an end of the War be-'fore their entire Conqueſt and Ruin.

'As for my ſelf, whenI ſaw their Deſign, 'that without entering into Terms of Peace 'with me, they only deferred farther contend-'ing with me, becauſe of their own Troubles 'at Home, I went contrary to the Opinion 'of *Tigranes*, who now too late confeſſes me 'in the Right; and upon the Foot of my own 'Strength, you being remote, and all others 'ſubmitting to them, renewed the War. And 'firſt, I gave to their Conſul *Marcus Cotta*, a 'great Overthrow by Land at *Chalcedon*. And 'in the next Place I beat them at Sea, and de-'ſtroyed them a good Fleet of Ships. But in-'veſting *Cyzicum* with a numerous Army, and 'the Siege happening to prove long, Proviſi-'ons failed me, no one aſſiſted me, and the 'Winter hindered my keeping the Seas; ſo 'that without the Enemy forcing me, I was 'obliged to draw off from the Place, and in my 'return to my own Kingdom, loſt the Flower 'of my Men and Navy, by Storms and Ship-'wreck at *Para* and *Heraclea*. But recruiting 'my Army afterwards at *Cabira*, I maintained, 'by ſeveral Battels with *Lucullus*, a doubtful 'War of it, till we both came at length to a 'Scarcity of Proviſions and Subſiſtence. To 'ſupply which, he had the Kingdom of *Ario-'barzanes* untouched to reſort to, and I, all 'the Country about being laid Waſte, retired 'to *Armenia*, the *Romans* purſuing, not me, 'but their Cuſtom of ravaging all Nations;

'and becauſe we were got in a narrow Corner
'that hindered a great Army's engaging, and
'ſuffered by the ill Conduct of *Tigranes*, they
'boaſt of the mighty Merit of their Arms.
'Now, conſider whether in caſe you ſhall look
'on, and let us be cruſh'd, you will be ſtronger
'thereby yourſelf to reſiſt them: Or whether
'our Fall will finiſh the War. I know you
'to be very opulent and powerful in Men,
'Money, and military Munitions; and it is
'therefore we court you for an Ally, and they
'have their Eye upon you for a Prey. *Tigranes*
'joins with me in this Opinion, that this War
'might be finiſhed without any Hazard to your
'Kingdom; my Soldiers of experienced Con-
'duct, will by their own Bodies, with no great
'Labour, keep the Enemy at a Diſtance.

'Are you ignorant that the *Romans*, after
'having ravaged as far Weſt as the Ocean
'would permit them, are come hither on the
'ſame Deſign? That they never had from the
'very beginning Houſe, or Land, Wives, or
'Country, Government, or any Thing in ſhort
'but by Rapine: That they came together a
'Parcel of Vagabonds, without any Home or
'Parents that they knew of, and ſprung up to
'be a Plague to the World: That no Laws,
'either human or divine, are able to keep them
'within Bounds, but they prey even upon their
'Friends and Allies, ranſack their Neighbours
'and remoteſt Foreigners, and over-run both
'the Wealthy and the Poor, purſuing as Ene-
'mies all Nations that are not their Vaſſals,
'but eſpecially Monarchies. Now the popular
'Governments of the World are few, moſt
'affecting a juſt King; wherefore they take
'Umbrage at us, as like to become their Ri-
'vals

'vals in Power, and Revengers of the Cauſe 'of Mankind.

'You who have ſuch a City as *Seleucia*, one 'of the greateſt in the Univerſe, and are Lord 'of *Perſia*, ſo celebrated for Riches, what can 'you expect from them but Deceit, in lulling 'you aſleep, perhaps, for a while, but attack-'ing you afterwards with a ſharp War? The '*Romans* battel it with all Princes, but the 'moſt vigorouſly againſt ſuch as they think 'will afford them the ampleſt Spoils. It is by 'tricking, by daring, by multiplying Wars one 'upon another they are grown ſo powerful; 'and by ſuch Methods they think to go on to 'ſubdue every thing, or to puniſh themſelves. 'And the latter will not be difficult to effect, 'if you with an Army from *Meſopotamia*, and 'we from *Armenia* ſurround theirs, labouring 'under a want of Proviſions, and not capable 'of any Aſſiſtance. It is only to our Default 'and Folly their good Fortune has hitherto 'been owing. You will have the Glory of 'ſuccouring at once two of the moſt conſider-'able Princes, and deſtroying the Robbers of 'Mankind, which I warn, I conjure you to 'apply your ſelf to, without preferring the 'Ruin of us, and the ſaving your ſelf to be 'devoured laſt, to the joining with us, and be-'coming a Conqueror.

Ær. Arsac. 188. To add a Force to this Letter of *Mithridates*, [a] *Tigranes* ſoon after ſent an Embaſſage to the *Parthian* King, and to offer him the Countries of *Meſopotamia*, *Abiadena*, and other Territories, if he would join in the Alliance, and

[a] Memnon. apud Photium c. 60.

vigo-

vigorouſly purſue the War. But [a] *Lucullus* the *Roman* General having Notice of theſe Sollicitations of the two Kings, ſent an expreſs Meſſenger with Letters to *Phrahates*, threatning him ſeverely if he offered to treat with the two Kings [b], and making him golden Promiſes if he would become an Ally of the *Romans*; inſiſting at leaſt, that if he would not actually join with the *Roman* Army, he would not engage againſt them, but ſtand by and obſerve a Neutrality on both ſides; the *Parthian* promiſed both Parties, but kept his Word neither with the one nor the other.

At this Time [c] *Lucullus* was celebrating the Obſequies of *Zarbienus* the King of the *Gordyæni*, who had been killed by *Tigranes*, and ſecretly had engaged in a League with the *Romans*. After the Solemnity he was met by Embaſſadors from the *Parthian* King, courting his Friendſhip and Alliance. The *Roman* General, exceedingly pleaſed with his Sollicitation, accepted the Treaty, and ſent *Sextilius* back with the Embaſſadors into *Parthia* to confirm the League, and to receive Auxiliaries for carrying on the *Mithridatick* War. [d] *Phrahates* reſented the coming of this Meſſenger from *Lucullus*, and underſtanding that *Sextilius* was a ſtout Soldier, and of great Experience in War, he apprehended that he came more to ſpy out the Strength of his Kingdom, and the Number of his Forces, than to ratify the Treaty. He refuſed to ſend any Troops, and continued neuter; concluding, that if the two

[a] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 35.
[b] Appian in Mithridat.
[c] Plutarch in Lucullo.
[d] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 35.

Kings

Kings and the *Romans* would continue to deſtroy one another, by carrying on the War, he was ready to take all Advantages, and might the better eſtabliſh his own Power.

But the [e] *Parthian* in his Heart inclined to the Intereſts of *Tigranes*, who at that Time was propoſing to *Phrahates* a full ſurrender of the Country of *Meſopotamia*, as a Reward for aſſiſting him againſt the *Romans*. *Sextilius* informed of this Intrigue returned to *Lucullus*, who ſo reſented the Abuſe, that he reſolved to leave *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* as Enemies ſubdued and overcome, and to prove the Force and Power of the *Parthians*; conceiving it would be a great Ornament to his Character, if he could overthrow three ſo mighty Kings, one after another, and paſs through the Countries of three of the greateſt Princes under the Sun, always conquering, and never conquered. But the execution of this Deſign was diſappointed, for ſending to *Sornatius* and the reſt of his Captains, who had been long in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, that they ſhould repair immediately to him with all their Forces (for he had determined to depart out of the Country of *Gordiæna*, and go againſt the *Parthians*;) his Lieutenants ſent him Word that their Soldiers were ſo mutinous, that they were under no Diſcipline, and abſolutely refuſed to march. *Lucullus* had no ſooner this Intelligence, but the News he found was diſperſed throughout his own Army; who taking Example by the Troops in *Pontus*, grew mutinous and turbulent, and inſtead of the Expedition into *Parthia*, threatened they would pack up their Bag-

[e] Plutarch, ibid.

gage

gage and return Home. The *Roman* General obſerving the Temper of his Soldiers, laid aſide his Deſign, and with ſome Difficulty, prevailed upon his Army to carry on the War againſt *Tigranes*.

[f] *Lucullus* returning into *Meſopotamia* entered into the Country of *Mygdonia*, and beſieged the City *Niſibis*, that *Tigranes* had before taken from the *Parthians*, and took it; but he was ſoon after recalled by the *Romans*, and the Management of the *Mithridatick* War committed to [g] *Pompey* the Great, who, upon his Expedition into *Pontus*, took Care to make a League with the *Parthian* King. The *Roman* General, before he entered upon Hoſtilities, in order to diſcover the Deſigns of *Mithridates*, ſent one *Metrophanes* to him to make him very friendly Propoſals. But the King no way ſuſpecting that *Phrahates* had joined with the *Romans*, rejected them. He was ſoon informed that *Pompey* had been beforehand with him in the *Parthian* Court, and that *Phrahates* had engaged to invade *Armenia*, ſo that his Heart failed him, and immediately he ſent Embaſſadors with Terms of Peace. *Pompey* required that he ſhould lay down his Arms, deliver up the Fugitives, and yield himſelf at Diſcretion; which Demand being ſpread about in the Camp of *Mithridates*, the Runaways made a Mutiny, which would have been fatal to the Perſon of the King, if he had not pretended that he ſent Embaſſadors only to diſcover the Poſture of the Enemy, and [h] ſwore that he would never have Peace with the *Ro-*

Ær. Arſac. 189.

[f] Oroſ. lib. 6. c. 3. Dio. Caſſ. lib. 35.
[g] Luc. Flor. lib. 10. Dio. Caſſ. lib. 36.
[h] Appian in Mithridatic.

mans, becauſe of their Cruelty, nor would conſent to any thing but what was for the common Good of thoſe that ſerved him: So that this Offer of an Accommodation was of no effect.

Tigranes the *Armenian* King had a Son of his own Name, who forming a Conſpiracy with the principal of the Nobility againſt his Father, occaſioned a Revolt, and fled with a few Attendants to the *Parthian* King. This young Prince had two elder Brothers that were ſlain by his Father, and imagining his Life to be nener ſecure within the Borders of *Armenia*, he was forced to fly. Underſtanding that one of the Conditions of the Peace made between [h] *Phrahates* and *Pompey* was, that the *Parthian* ſhould invade the Kingdom of *Armenia*, he urges him on with Hopes of being ſupported by the Conſpirators, who, upon his appearing among them, would join him with a good Body of Troops, and bring the old King to his own Terms. At the ſame time *Sariaſter*, another Son of *Tigranes*, fled, and took Refuge in the *Parthian* Court; and the *Armenian* Princes, in order to ſecure the *Parthian* to their Intereſt, applied to have two of the King's Daughters in Marriage, to which the King conſented without much Sollicitation.

ÆR. ARSAC. 191. *Phrahates* conceiving by this Conſpiracy to ſubdue the Kingdom of *Armenia*, raiſed a gallant Army, and taking with him the two young Princes his Sons-in-law, he invaded the Borders, and overcoming all Oppoſition, he pierced into the Country as far as *Artaxata*, the Capital of the Kingdom, and ſate down before it. The Terror of the [i] *Parthian* Arms had forced

[h] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 36. Val. Max. lib. 9. c. 11.
[i] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 36.

Tigranes

Tigranes to retire to the Mountains, but the *Parthian* finding the Place provided with Neceſſaries for a long Siege, left part of his Forces with *Tigranes* his Son-in-law, and with the reſt returned Home. The *Armenian* King, upon this Diviſion of the *Parthian* Army, ventured out of his Faſtneſſes, and falling briskly with the Flower of his Troops upon his Son, he not only raiſed the Siege, but obtained a complete Victory, and drove him out of the Country.

In this Diſtreſs he determined to fly to [k] *Mithridates*, whoſe Daughter *Cleopatra* was his Mother; but finding in his Way that *Mithridates* had been defeated, he fled to the *Roman* Camp, and there by Way of a Suppliant, he caſt himſelf into the Hands of *Pompey*. He was kindly received by the General, who wanting a Guide to direct his March into *Armenia*, made uſe of him, who led him directly toward *Artaxata*. *Tigranes* terrified at his Approach, and ſenſible that he had no Force that could reſiſt the Power of the *Roman* Arms, reſolved to caſt himſelf upon the Generoſity and Clemency of the *Roman* General; and to do it with a better Grace, he ſent to him the Embaſſadors of *Mithridates*; for *Mithridates*, upon his late Defeat, ſent Embaſſadors to *Tigranes* to deſire Refuge in his Country, and Aſſiſtance from him to repair his Fortune. But the *Armenian* King not only denied him all of his Requeſt, but caſt his Embaſſadors into Priſon, and ſet a Price of a hundred Talents upon the Head of *Mithridates* himſelf, ſhould he be found within his Dominions; pretending for all this, that his

[k] Plutarch in Pompeio. Dio. Caſſ. ibid.

Son had rebelled againſt him by his Inſtigation; but the true Reaſon was, that he might make his Way eaſier for his Reconciliation with the *Romans*, and therefore delivered up the Embaſſadors. Soon after he entered the *Roman* Camp, and in the moſt abject manner reſigned himſelf and Kingdom into the Power of the *Romans*. [1] He was received with great Generoſity and Commiſeration by *Pompey*, who appointing the next Day for hearing the Cauſe between him and his Son, and invited both of them that Night to Supper. But the Son refuſing to come, out of Reſentment to his Father, and ſhewing him no Reſpect at the Interview, he gave Offence to *Pompey*, who notwithſtanding took Care of his Intereſt when he had heard the Cauſe. For after having decreed that King *Tigranes* ſhould pay the *Romans* ſix thouſand Talents, for making War upon them without Reaſon, and yield up to them all his Conqueſts, on this ſide the *Euphrates*, he ordered that he ſhould ſtill reign in his paternal Kingdom of *Armenia* the Greater, and his Son in *Gordiæna* and *Sophena*, two bordering Provinces, in his Father's Life-time, and ſucceed him in all the reſt of his Dominions after his Death, reſerving to the Father the Treaſure he had laid up at *Sophena*, without which he was unable to pay the Fine. *Tigranes*, the Father, joyfully accepted theſe Terms; but the Son having entertained Expectations that were not anſwered by this Decree, was uneaſy, and attempted to make his Eſcape, in order to raiſe new Commotions. Upon this *Pompey* ſet a Guard upon him; but he ſtill refuſing to let

[1] Appian. in Mithridat.

his Father take away his Treaſure, and being detected of courting the *Armenian* Nobility to renew the War, and ſolliciting the King of *Parthia* to join in it, he threw him in Chains, and reſerved him for the Pomp of his Triumph [m]: Accordingly he was led in Triumph with his Wife, the Daughter of the *Parthian* King.

Notwithſtanding the prodigious Succeſs of the *Roman* Arms, and that *Tigranes*, who bordered upon his Country, was reduced ſo low as to ſupplicate upon the Ground for his Life and Kingdom, yet *Phrahates*, no way terrified at the Name of *Pompey*, ſoon ſent Embaſſadors to him, to demand the young Prince his Son-in-law; and to tell him peremptorily, that the River *Euphrates* muſt be the utmoſt Extent of his Conqueſts. *Pompey* anſwered again, that the *Armenian* King, his natural Father, had more Right to his Son-in-law than he, and as for limiting his Borders, he would do it according to the Rules of Right and Juſtice; ſo leaving *Afranius* his Commander to preſerve the Country, *Pompey* paſſed through other Nations that inhabit about Mount *Caucaſus* in purſuit of *Mithridates*: He overcame the *Iberians* and *Albanians*, and returned into *Armenia* the Leſs; where being met with Letters from the Kings of the *Elymeans* and the *Medes*, who were then defending their Liberties againſt the *Parthians*, he received them civilly, and wrote back with great Courteſy by the Embaſſadors. [n] *Phrahates* kept a good Number of Forces on Foot, leſt he ſhould be attacked by the *Romans*, and at that time ravaging the Country of *Gordiæna*,

[m] Plutarch in Pompeio, ibid. [n] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 36.

that belonged to *Tigranes*, *Pompey* diſpatched *Afranius* againſt him, who routed his whole Army, and purſued him as far as *Arbelitis*.

The Pride of the [o] *Parthian* began now to be humbled; and obſerving that *Pompey* carried all before him with Violence and Succeſs, that *Armenia* and that Part of *Pontus* that lay next him was taken by his Commanders, and that *Gabienus* one of his Generals having paſſed the *Euphrates* had advanced as far as the *Tigris*, in a great Conſternation ſent Embaſſadors to *Pompey*, to renew the Peace with the *Romans*. But he prevailed little by that Embaſſy; for *Pompey*, elated by that Succeſs, and the Hopes he had conceived of future Conqueſts, anſwered imperiouſly, and among other things inſiſted, that the Country of *Gordiæna*, that had been long in Controverſy between the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, ſhould be delivered into his Hands. But the *Parthian* Embaſſadors having no ſuch thing in their Inſtructions, and making no Reply, *Pompey* writ a Letter by them to the *Parthian* King, and ſent them Home.

[p] *Pompey* in the Direction of his Letter made a Scorn of the Titles of the *Parthian* Kings, and inſtead of the Appellation of *King of Kings* (which was always uſed by the *Romans*, and by himſelf afterwards when he triumphed) he called him only *Pharnaces the King*. The *Parthian* enraged at this Contempt, as an Inſult upon his Crown and Dignity, ſent Embaſſadors to complain of it, and whilſt *Pompey* was engaged in *Syria*, he invaded *Armenia*; and tho' he had the worſe of it in an Engagement or two, yet at laſt he overcame *Tigranes*, and

[o] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 37. [p] Dio. ibid.

compelled

compelled him to apply to *Pompey* for Help. At the ſame Time *Phrahates* ſent Embaſſadors to *Pompey*, with Commiſſion not to ſpare the General nor the *Romans*; and they acquitted themſelves to the utmoſt, for they laid ſo many violent Proceedings to their Charge, that they made him both afraid and aſhamed; inſomuch, that he neither aſſiſted *Tigranes*, with whom the *Parthian* was at War, nor did he attempt any Hoſtilities againſt *Phrahates*, though vehemently urged to it by his Friends. He pleaded that he had no expreſs Command from the People of *Rome* to invade the *Parthians*, and that *Mithridates* was yet in being: For the preſent he was content with what he had done, and would engage in no new Adventure, well knowing the Chance of War; and leſt, as *Lucullus* did, by engaging too far, he ſhould bring Misfortunes upon himſelf at laſt: However, he would ſend three Commiſſioners to judge between the two Kings, and to ſettle the Boundaries of their Empire. Theſe Arbitrators he ſent to enquire into their Differences, who being intruſted with all their Intereſts, and made by them Referees of their Diſputes, brought Matters to an Accommodation between them. *Tigranes* all this while reſented that *Pompey* refuſed him Aſſiſtance in his Diſtreſs, when he had been declared a Friend and an Ally to the *Roman* People; and *Phrahates* had no Deſign to ruin the *Armenian* King, whoſe Aſſiſtance he might poſſibly want in ſome future Conteſts with the *Romans*, it being obvious to both of them, that whoſoever ſhould prevail, the *Romans* would fall upon the Conqueror; ſo that upon theſe Conſi-

derations, fully weighed, the two Kings agreed and made Peace.

ÆR. ARSAC. 197. The [q] *Parthian* King did not long survive, for his two Sons *Mithridates* and *Orodes* conſpired againſt him, and ſlew him, after he had reigned about ten Years.

[q] Juſtini lib. 42.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Mithridates III.

MITHRIDATES the Third, the eldeſt Son of *Phrahates*, took Poſſeſſion of the Throne by Right of Primogeniture, and reigned with the ſame Spirit of Cruelty and Barbarity by which he ſeized upon the Crown. About this Time died [a] *Tigranes* the Elder, King of *Armenia*, about eighty five Years old: He was ſucceeded by his younger Son *Artavaſdes*, called alſo *Artabazes* and *Artabaſdes*, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* happen'd to corrupt that barbarous Name in reducing it to the Idiom of their own Language. ÆR. ARSAC. 197.

Publius Clodius a young Nobleman of *Rome* of good Parts, but exceedingly vicious, was appointed by Decree of the *Roman* Senate to go into *Armenia* and compliment the new

[a] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 38. Appian in Mithridatic.

King

King upon his Acceſſion; to avoid which Embaſſy he renounced his Nobility, and procured himſelf to be adopted by a *Plebeian*.

Tigranes[z] the Younger, after he had adorned *Pompey*'s Triumph, contrary to the general Practice, was kept in Chains, for the Captives, after they had bore their Part in the Solemnity, were commonly releaſed, and ſent home into their own Countries. This Prince was confined in the Houſe of [a] *Titus Fabius* the Prætor, but hearing that his Father was dead, and that his younger Brother had ſeized the Kingdom, he bribed *Clodius*, who was then a *Tribune*, to contrive his Eſcape. In order to it he deſired of *Fabius* to give the *Armenian* Leave to ſup with him; and when he had him in his Power he ſet him at Liberty, and would not give him up at *Pompey*'s Demand. Soon after he took ſhipping, but was driven back by a Tempeſt; at laſt he found Means to eſcape, and came into *Parthia*, and applying to *Mithridates*, his Relation by Marriage, he deſired his Aſſiſtance to recover his Right to the Crown of *Armenia*, that in his Abſence had been invaded by his Brother. The [b] *Parthian*, by the Perſuaſion of *Tigranes*, and propoſing ſome Advantage to himſelf by the Expedition, began the War, and carried his Arms into *Armenia*.

ÆR. ARSAC. 198. [c] But *Orodes*, the younger Brother of *Mithridates*, being equally concerned in the Murder of his Father, thought that he had a Right to ſome Share in the Government, and taking Advantage of the Abſence of his Brother in

[z] Lucian in Macrobiis.
[a] Plut. in Pompeio. Cicero pro domo ſuâ.
[b] Trogus in Prol. lib. 12. [c] Juſtin. lib. 42.

the *Armenian* War, poſſeſſed himſelf (ſays *Juſtin*) of the vacant Kingdom, and ſet the Crown upon his Head. *Mithridates*, alarmed with this Invaſion of his Brother, left the War, and carrying his Forces with him, came into *Parthia*: *Artavaſdes* the *Armenian* King ſoon put an end to the Pretences of *Tigranes*, which might have ſufficiently diſturbed him, if this Diviſion had not ſeaſonably happened among the *Parthians*.

[a] Notwithſtanding the Conſpiracy againſt *Mithridates* was executed ſo ſucceſsfully, yet *Orodes*, upon the Approach of his Brother, found he was unequal in the Number and Bravery of Troops, and being too weak to keep Poſſeſſion, he fled out of the Kingdom. *Mithridates* enraged with this Defection among his People, and being out of fear of any Attempt from his Brother, took immediate Revenge upon the Revolters that fell into his Hands, and put them to the moſt cruel and tormenting Deaths; and having taſted the Blood of his Subjects, he drew it plentifully, with ſo much Barbarity and Injuſtice, that the [b] *Parthian* Senate called him to an Account, and by a publick Decree dethroned him, and ſent him into Baniſhment.

The States of [c] *Parthia*, upon the Expulſion of *Mithridates*, ſent for *Orodes*, whoſe Intereſt had been chiefly promoted by *Surena*, one of the principal of the Nobility, whoſe Office it was by his Birth to place the Diadem upon the King's Head; and accordingly, upon the return of *Orodes*, he had the Honour deſcended

[a] Juſtin lib. 42. [b] Juſtin ibid.
[c] Plutarch in Craſſo. Appian in Parthic.

from

from his Anceſtors of crowning him with his own Hand. The new King apprehenſive that *Mithridates* would take all Advantages for the Recovery of his Right, and to diſturb the Peace of his Reign, ſent him into *Media* the Greater to govern that Part of the Country that was under the Dominion of the [a] *Parthians*, in which was the City of *Ecbatane*, where was the Summer Retirement of the *Parthian* Kings. But *Mithridates*, inſtead of being content with that Share of Power, raiſed an Army, and made a Puſh for the whole Kingdom, but was routed by *Orodes*, and forced to fly for Safety to *Gabinius* the Proconſul of *Syria*.

ÆR. ARSAC. 199. The [b] *Roman* General was at this time preparing for an Expedition againſt the *Arabians*, but *Mithridates* prevailed upon him to alter his Deſign, and to turn his Arms againſt the *Parthians*, and reſtore him to his juſt Rights. *Gabinius* had ſet his Heart upon heaping up Money, and gladly attended to the Propoſal; for *Parthia* he knew was a very rich Nation, and would afford excellent Plunder. Accordingly he began his March; but having paſſed the *Euphrates*, he was met by [c] *Ptolemy Auletes* the deprived King of *Egypt*, with Letters from *Pompey*, who offered him ten thouſand Talents, part to be paid in Hand, and the reſt when he was reſtored to his Kingdom. This Offer was oppoſed by moſt of the Officers; but *Antonius*, who was then in the Army, willing to ſignalize himſelf, was for gratifying *Ptolemy*'s Requeſt, and prevailed upon *Gabinius* to undertake

[a] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 39. Appian in Parthic.
[b] Appian ibid.
[c] Joſeph. lib. 1. Bell. c. 6. & lib. 14. Antiquit. c. 11. Plutarch in Anton.

the

the War; beſides, the Love of Money had ſuch a Prevalency over the Spirit of the Proconſul, that he gave over his Deſign againſt the *Parthians*, repaſſed the *Euphrates*, and led his Army to *Alexandria*. After he had reeſtabliſhed the *Egyptian* King he was condemned to Baniſhment, for having without the Senate's Orders undertook a War in *Egypt* forbid by the Oracles, and particularly by the *Sybils Verſes*. *Gabinius* gave over all Thoughts of his *Parthian* Expedition, and ſent *Mithridates* privately out of his Camp, with one *Arſanes* a *Parthian* Nobleman, giving it out among his Soldiers that they had made their Eſcape.

[a] *Mithridates*, diſappointed of all Aſſiſtance from the Proconſul, flies into *Meſopotamia* among the *Arabians*, who were brought into that Country by *Tigranes*. They lived near the Cities of *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, which bore a natural Hatred to the *Parthians*, and declared in favour of *Mithridates*: By the help of theſe *Arabians* (ſays [a] *Appian*) he recovered part of his Kingdom.

[b] *Orodes*, when he found that the *Seleucians* and *Babylonians* had taken the part of his Brother, immediately diſpatched *Surena* with a Body of ſelect Troops to beſiege *Seleucia*, whilſt he himſelf marched with the reſt of the Army to inveſt *Babylon*. *Surena* took the City by Storm: He was the firſt that mounted the Walls, and ſlew many of the Enemy with his own Hands. But *Babylon* was not ſo eaſily reduced, for *Mithridates* was ſhut up there with all his Forces. But the Inhabitants being at laſt ſorely oppreſſed by Famine, were obliged

[a] Appian in Syriac. [b] Plut. in Craſſo.

to

to ſurrender, and [c] *Mithridates* voluntarily, in Confidence of the nearneſs of his Blood, delivered himſelf up into the Power of his Brother. But *Orodes* receiving him rather as an Enemy than a Brother, commanded him to be ſlain in his own Preſence. *Mithridates* III. from the Death of his Father, is ſaid to have reigned about ſix Years.

ÆR. ARSAC. 203.

[c] Juſt. lib. 42.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Orodes.

ORODES, called *Hyrodes* by *Plutarch* [a], the younger Son of *Phrahates* III, by the Murder of his Father, and the Death of his elder Brother, was eſtabliſhed without a Rival in the Throne of *Parthia*; and being confirmed by the States of the Kingdom, he might have enjoyed a quiet and undiſturbed Reign, had not the *Romans*, to their Coſt and Diſhonour, attempted to diſpoſſeſs him. He had put an end to the civil Wars by the Death of *Mithridates*, but before he had Time to taſte of the Delights of Peace, or to ſettle the Diſorders of his Government, *Craſſus* the *Roman* Conſul, who impatiently deſired the Plunder of the Eaſt, was ready to invade him. ÆR. ARSAC. 203.

[a] Plut. in Craſſo.

[a] The

[a] The Day of the Election for the Conſuls of *Rome* being come, *Caius Cæſar*, *Pompey* the Great, and *Marcus Craſſus* being Candidates; the two laſt, (notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of *Cicero*, *Cato*, and thoſe of the contrary Faction) obtained the Conſulate by Force of Arms, where many were ſlain on both Side, and prolonged to *Cæſar* the Government of *Gaul* for five other Years. They drew by Lot the Governments of *Syria* and *Spain*; *Syria* fell to *Craſſus*, and *Spain* to *Pompey*. The People were pleaſed that *Pompey* ſhould not go far from the City; on the other ſide *Craſſus* could not diſſemble his Satisfaction when he ſaw himſelf Governor of *Syria*: He thought he could receive no greater Happineſs; and ſo far did his Exceſs of Joy tranſport him, as to make him, in his familiar Converſation, utter a thouſand Extravagancies, which ſavoured of Gaiety and juvenile Heat. [b] Till that time he ſhewed a Gravity in his Behaviour, and had nothing of Pride or Boaſting in his Converſation; but now exalting his Thoughts above their due Level, his Judgment was perverted, and his Head heated. He would not circumſcribe his Fortune within the Bounds of *Parthia* and *Syria*, but looking upon the Actions of *Lucullus* againſt *Tigranes*, and the Exploits of *Pompey* againſt *Mithridates*, as Children's Play, he propoſed to himſelf, in his Hopes, to paſs beyond *Bactria*, and *India*, and the *Oriental Ocean*; not that he was obliged by his Office to undertake any foreign Expedition, for in his Commiſſion there was no mention made of a War againſt the *Parthians*, yet no Man doubted

[a] Appian in Parthic. [b] Plutarch in Craſſo.

but

but he resolved to undertake it. *Cæsar* wrote out of *Gaul*, commending his Resolution, and inciting him to the War; but many good and understanding Men thought it strange that he should go to make War against an innocent Nation, who desired only to be at Peace.

But *Crassus* having Intelligence that *Atteius*, one of the Tribunes of the People, had a Design to hinder his going out of the City, was a little afraid, and entreated *Pompey*, who had a greater Power over the Spirits of the Populace, to conduct him out of the City. They found in the Streets a great Number of Persons resolved to arrest him, but *Pompey* observing them went to meet them, and with a smiling Countenance so mollified the People, that they let him go. [a] *Atteius* the Tribune was the only Person that opposed him; first he forbad *Crassus* to advance any farther, and then he commanded the Officer to seize his Person; but the other Tribunes did not think it convenient, and so let him pass. Then *Atteius* ran to the Gate, and filling a Chafing-dish with Fire, as *Crassus* passed by, made Effusions upon it, pronouncing horrible Execrations against the Consul, and invoking Gods, whose Names were new and dreadful [b]. This manner of Cursing is very antient; the *Romans* are of Opinion that these Imprecations are so powerful, that whoever they are pronounced against cannot escape, nor can any Good happen to him that pronounces them, for which Reason they never use them but upon Consideration; so that many Persons blamed the Tribune, because by declaring himself an Enemy to *Crassus*, tho'

ÆR. AR. AC. 204.

[a] Appian in Parthic. [b] Dio Cassius lib. 39.

in favour of the Republick, he had filled the Minds of the whole City with Fear and Superſtition. Yet all this did not prevent the Conſul from ſetting forward to *Brunduſium*; and though the Winter, which was not near paſt, might have diverted him from venturing to [a] Sea, yet he would ſtay no longer, ſo that he loſt many Ships by Storm, and with the Remains of his Army marched on Foot through *Galatia*. There he met with King *Deiotarus*, who though he was very old was building a new City; upon which *Craſſus* ſcoffingly told him, *Your Majeſty begins to build at the twelfth Hour*. *Neither do you*, ſays he, *O General, undertake your* Parthian *Expedition very early*; for *Craſſus* was then threeſcore Years old, and looked much older than he was.

[b] The Conſul marched on towards his Province, and no ſooner arrived in *Syria*, but being informed of the Riches of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, he reſolved to plunder it, and with a part of his Forces he came to the City for that Purpoſe; *Eleazer* one of the Prieſts was at that time Treaſurer of the Temple. Among other valuable Things which he had under his Charge, he had a Bar of Gold that weighed three hundred *Hebrew Minæ*: To ſecure this he had conveyed it in a Beam, which he had made hollow to receive it, and placed this Beam over the Entrance which was from the *Holy Place* to the *Holy of Holies*, and cauſed the Veil of Partition to be hung upon it. The Prieſt perceiving that *Craſſus* deſigned to plunder the Temple, endeavoured to compound the Matter with him, and therefore diſ-

[a] Plut. in Craſſo. [b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 14. c. 12.

covering

covering to him the Bar of Gold, he promiſed to deliver it upon Condition that he would ſpare the reſt. *Craſſus* accepted the Propoſal, and engaged ſolemnly with an Oath, that he would be content with the Bar of Gold, and lay Hands upon nothing elſe. *Eleazer* upon this Security delivered him the Bar, and the perfidious Conſul had no ſooner received it, but forgetting his Oath, he not only ſeized the two thouſand Talents which *Pompey* had left untouched, but rifling the Temple, he plundered it of every thing worth taking away, to the Value of eight thouſand Talents more; ſo that the whole of this ſacrilegious Plunder amounted to ten thouſand Talents, which is above two Millions of our Money, and with this he thought himſelf ſufficiently provided for the *Parthian* War.

Craſſus[a] was now to paſs the *Euphrates* at a Place called *Zeugma*; but here he met with unfortunate Omens, for the Golden Eagle (the *Romans* call that Eagle ſo which is born under a little Canopy at the end of a long Pike, and is carried at the Head of thoſe Armies which are compoſed of new Levies, the Pike being pointed below that it may ſtick in the Ground.) This Eagle was very unwilling to paſs the *Euphrates*, but ſtuck in the Earth as if it had taken root, and it was with the utmoſt Force and Violence that they tore it up from the Ground, and conſtrained it to follow. He made a Bridge over the *Euphrates*, but it broke before all the Army had paſſed; ſo that all theſe Things joined together, putting the Troops into a great Conſternation, *Craſſus* to recover

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 40.

their Spirits, ſaid to them, *Fear nothing, Soldiers, I give you my Oath that none of you ſhall come back this Way, for my Deſign is to return through* Armenia: But theſe Words, *None of you ſhall come back*, very much encreaſed their Fears.

He came into [a] *Meſopotamia*, and the firſt Succeſs of his Affairs anſwered beyond his Hopes; for many Cities of the Country ſurrender'd to him, for he came by Surpriſe, and there was ſcarce a Gariſon to oppoſe him. Indeed the Governor of the Country for the *Parthians*, one *Talymenus Ilaces*, or *Syllaces*, made Head againſt him at a Place called *Ichnia* with a few Horſe, but was overcome and wounded, and fled to the King to give him Notice of the Invaſion of *Craſſus*. The *Parthian* Court was ſurprized at the News, for the Conſul could have no other Pretence for the War, than his inſatiable deſire of Riches, and to plunder the Country. The *Romans* had firſt by *Sylla* and then by *Pompey* entered into League and Alliance with the *Parthian* Kings; there never had been any Complaint of the Infraction of Treaties, and therefore *Orodes* expecting no ſuch Attack, was by no Means prepared to withſtand it.

The Cities of *Meſopotamia*, beyond his Expectation, revolted to *Craſſus* upon his Arrival, eſpecially ſuch as were poſſeſſed by the *Greeks*; for theſe originally belonging to the *Macedonian* [b] Empire, had been ſubdued by the *Parthians*, whoſe Yoke became now inſupportable, and ſo they reſolved to change their Maſters, and opened the Gates to the *Romans*. One City

[a] Plut. in Craſſo. Dio Caſſ. lib. 40. [b] Plut. in Craſſo.

he

he was forced to beſiege, called by the *Greeks* *Zenodotia*, which was defended by a Tyrant, named *Apollonius*; and becauſe he had loſt before it a hundred of his Soldiers, he ſtormed it with his whole Army, took it, razed it, and ſold all the Inhabitants he could find by Outcry. After this he permitted his Army to ſalute him by the Name of *Imperator*, by which he loſt much of his Reputation, as if having gained this Victory he had no Proſpect of farther Conqueſts. Had the Conſul purſued his Advantages he might have taken the Cities of *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, and made himſelf Maſter of all *Babylonia*, as well as [a] *Meſopotamia*. But the Summer being ſpent he repaſſed the *Euphrates*, and having placed Gariſons in all the Cities that had ſurrender'd, whoſe Number amounted to ſeven thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe, with the reſt of his Army he took up his Winter Quarters in *Syria*: By this Means he gave the *Parthian* an Opportunity to raiſe an Army againſt the next Year's Campaign, which effectually deſtroyed him. Here he was met by his Son, a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman, who had born Arms in *Gaul* under *Cæſar*, from whom he had received many military Rewards, and now joined him with a thouſand choſen Horſe.

The [b] Conſul got no great Credit by his ſtay in *Syria*, for he behaved more like a Tax-gatherer than a General: The Time which ſhould have been employed in making Proviſion of Arms, and exerciſing the Soldiers, was ſpent in reckoning up the Revenues of the Cities, and in weighing and meaſuring the Gold and Silver conſecrated to *Atargatis* the *Syrian* God-

[a] Appian in Parthic. [b] Appian, ibid.

deſs, who had a Temple at *Hierapolis*, which he had plundered: And when he had ordered the Lords and Commonalty of the Country to ſet out a certain Number of Soldiers, he preſently releaſed them for Money, which made him contemptible to the whole World. It was at the Temple of the forementioned Goddeſs (whom ſome will have to be *Venus*, others *Juno*, others *Nature*) which contains in it the Seed of all Things, where *Craſſus* received a remarkable Preſage of his ill Fortune; for as the Father and the Son went out of the Temple, the young Man ſtumbled and fell before the Gate, and the old Man fell upon his Son.

The [a] *Parthian* King ſent Embaſſadors to the Conſul into *Syria*, as he was drawing his Army out of their Winter Quarters, who put him in mind of the Leagues they had made with *Pompey* and *Sylla*; and declared peremptorily, that if the People of *Rome* had ſent that Army, the War would not end, but by the abſolute Ruin of one of the Parties; but if it were true as was reported, that *Craſſus*, without his Country's Conſent, and for his own particular Intereſts had undertaken it, and had ſeized upon his Cities for the ſake of Plunder, their Maſter *Arſaces* would then uſe him favourably, in Conſideration of the Conſul's Age, and ſend back his Soldiers to the People of *Rome*; for in the Caſe they were in, he conſidered them rather as Men beſieged than as Conquerors. *Craſſus* could not offer any imaginary Cauſe of the War, but gaping after the King's Treaſures, he arrogantly replied, that [b] *he would give them an Anſwer* at *Seleucia*. *Vagiſes* chief

[a] Appian & Plutarch, ibid.

[b] Florus lib. 3. c. 11.

of

of the Deputation in a Fit of Laughter, ſtriking the Palm of his right Hand with the Fingers of his left, *Craſſus*, ſaid he, *there ſhall Hair grow here before thou ſee* Seleucia; and immediately the Embaſſadors returned to their Maſter, to give him Notice that he had nothing to expect but War.

[a] *Orodes* prepared to defend himſelf, and divided his Army into two Parts. With one of them he marched in Perſon towards the Borders of *Armenia*, and ſent the other under the Command of *Surena* into *Meſopotamia*, who ſoon recovered the Cities that *Craſſus* had taken the Year before, and ſo terrified the [b] *Roman* Gariſons, that as many as eſcaped fled to the *Roman* Camp, where they bred no ſmall Diſturbance: They gave a dreadful Account of the vaſt Number of Enemies they had ſeen, the Labours they had undergone in Defence of the Cities from whence they were driven; and aggravating every thing, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, they aſſured their Fellows, that it was impoſſible to eſcape the *Parthians* when they purſued, nor to overtake them when they fled: That their Arrows wounded before they could be perceived, and that nothing was Proof againſt them: That their *Kataphracti*, or Men armed at all Points were ſo provided, that they would beat down any thing, and give way to nothing: That they were all [c] Archers on Horſeback, for which they are fitted by the Nature of the Climate; their Air was extremely hot, which made the Strings of their Bows the harder, and that nothing could ſtand before them. ÆR. ARSAC. 205.

[a] Plutarch in Craſſo. [b] Appian in Parthic.
[c] Xiphilin. de Craſſo.

The *Roman* Soldiers hearing theſe Diſcourſes were terrified, and their Hearts failed them, for being perſuaded that their Enemies were of the ſame Metal with the *Armenians* and *Cappadocians*, who tired *Lucullus* in purſuing of them, and believing that the moſt of their Labour would be the Length of the Way, and the Trouble to purſue the Enemies that durſt not ſtay for them, they ſaw, that quite contrary to the Opinion they had entertained, this War would prove doubtful and dangerous, inſomuch, that the Officers were of Opinion to hinder *Craſſus* [a] from proceeding farther, till he had conſidered more maturely of an Affair which concerned the Safety or Loſs of ſo many Men; beſides, the Augurs gave private Notice that the Entrails of the Beaſts promiſed no Good, and that the Sacrifices of *Craſſus* were not pleaſing to the Gods. *Caſſius*, his Quæſtor (who was afterwards chief Actor in the Murder of *Julius Cæſar*) attempted to keep him back; but all Sollicitations were to no Purpoſe, and rather urged him on to his Deſtruction.

At that time came into the Camp *Artavaſdes* King of *Armenia*, and brought with him ſix thouſand Horſe that were his Body Guards; beſides, he promiſed to ſend him ten thouſand Cuiraſſiers more, and thirty thouſand Foot at his own Charges. But he perſuaded him to aſſault the *Parthians* by the way of *Armenia*, and that he would not only ſupply his Army with Forage, but his Paſſage would be more ſecure, by Reaſon of the Roughneſs of the Country, and a continued Chain of Mountains, which were almoſt impaſſable by Horſe [b], in which the main Strength

[a] Plut. ibid. [b] Appian ibid.

of their Army consisted. The Consul highly applauded the King's Good-Will, praised the Magnificence of his Troops, and told him, he would accept of his Auxiliaries; but as to his Advice of passing through *Armenia* he could not comply with it, for he was obliged to go through *Mesopotamia*, where he had left a great many Garisons filled with Soldiers of the *Roman* Name. Upon this the *Armenian* took his Leave, but at his Return finding *Orodes* upon his Borders with a great Army, he had Business enough for his Troops at Home, and therefore could not afford *Crassus* the Assistance he had promised him.

The Consul passing his Army over the *Euphrates* it began to Thunder dreadfully, and continual Flashes of Lightning darted in the Soldiers Eyes; besides, all on a sudden an impetuous Storm raged against the Bridge, and carried away part of it. It happened likewise that the Lightning fell twice in the Place on which they were to encamp, and one of the Consul's Horses, in his most stately Trappings, carried the Groom that rode him into the River, notwithstanding all Endeavours to stop him, nor was either Horse or Man ever seen afterwards. The Eagle that was first taken up by the [a] Standard-bearer of itself fell backward, and when the Army had past the River and sate down to eat, they by Chance gave the Soldiers nothing but Lentils and Salt, which the *Romans* account ominous, being what is set before the Dead. After this having mustered his Army he offered a Sacrifice, and as the Priest put the Entrails of the Beast into his

[a] Plut. ibid.

Hands

Hands he let them fall, at which the Aſſiſtants being concerned, he Laughing, ſaid, *Theſe are the Inconveniences of old Age, but I will hold my Sword faſt enough.* He found that the Army which paſſed the River conſiſted of ſeven Legions, about four thouſand Horſe, and as many light armed Foot.

Soon after the Scouts brought Word to the Army that the whole [a] Region was deſert, and that they had only diſcovered the Track of a great Number of Horſe that ſeemed to fly before them; upon which Intelligence *Craſſus* conceived ſome Hopes, and the Soldiers began to deſpiſe the *Parthians*, believing they would never ſtand to fight them. But *Caſſius* and ſome of his Friends adviſed him to refreſh his Army in ſome of the Gariſon Towns, and remain there till they could get certain Intelligence of the Enemy, or at leaſt that he would march towards *Seleucia*, and keep by the ſide of the *Euphrates*, for Plenty of Proviſions might eaſily be brought him by Water, and in caſe the Enemy came to aſſail him, the River might ſerve as a Rampire, ſo that they could not ſurround him, and by that Means he might fight them with equal Forces.

As *Craſſus* [b] was conſidering of the Importance of this Advice, and going to follow it, there came to his Camp a ſubtle *Arabian*, one *Ariamnes*, whom Fortune made uſe of as the principal Inſtrument for the Deſtruction of the Army. Some of *Pompey*'s old Soldiers knew him, for he had ſerved with them under him, and that Great General had obliged him, but

[a] Plutarch, ibid. Appian in Parthic.
[b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 40.

he

he was now ſuborned by the *Parthian* [a] Officers, and ſent to *Craſſus* to draw him, if poſſible, from the River and the Mountains into the Plain, where he might be ſurrounded, for the *Parthians* deſired any thing rather than to be obliged to meet the *Romans* Face to Face: He therefore coming to *Craſſus* (and he had his Tongue well hung) highly commended *Pompey* as his Benefactor, and admired the Forces that *Craſſus* had with him, but ſeemed to wonder why he delayed and made Preparations, as if he ſhould not uſe his Feet more than his Arms againſt thoſe Men, that taking with them their beſt Goods and Chattels, had deſigned long ago to fly for Refuge to the *Scythians* or *Hircanians*; But ſuppoſing they were to fight at laſt, he ought to make what Haſte he could before the King could recover Courage and get his Forces together; for you ſee *Surena* and *Sylanes* are oppoſed to you to hinder your farther Progreſs, but the King himſelf does not appear, and is gone no Body knows where.

Now all this was falſe, for *Orodes*, as was obſerved before, had divided his Army into two Parts; with one he in Perſon waſted *Armenia*, revenging himſelf upon *Artavaſdes*, and ſent *Surena* his General againſt the *Romans*, not out of Contempt, as ſome pretend, for it cannot be ſuppoſed that he ſhould diſdain to deal with *Craſſus* a *Roman* Conſul, or that he could think it more honourable to war with *Artavaſdes*, or to plunder the Villages of *Armenia*; but he retired thither for fear of Danger, and that *Surena* ſhould firſt try the Hazard of a Battel. For

[a] Appian ibid.

this

this *Surena*, who was alſo called *Moneſes* [a], was no ordinary Perſon, for Wealth, Family and Authority he was the ſecond Man in the Kingdom, but for Valour and Vigor of Body he was the firſt; beſides, he was of a large Size, and of as noble an Aſpect as any Man living could be. He had continually in his Train ten thouſand [b] Camels for Burthen, two hundred Coaches for his Women, and for his Guard a thouſand Men at Arms, beſides a great Number of light Horſe; ſo that the ordinary Train of his Houſhold was ten thouſand Horſe, reckoning his Vaſſals and Slaves, and by an antient hereditary Right of his Family, he had the Honour to ſet the Crown upon the Head of the *Parthian* Kings. He had brought this ſame *Orodes* from Exile, and reſtored him to the Throne: He had by Storm taken the Great *Seleucia*, being the firſt that mounted the Walls, from whence himſelf drove the Guards that defended them; and though at that time he was not above thirty Years old, he was eſteemed one of the moſt politick Men of the Time wherein he lived; which he ſhewed by impoſing upon *Craſſus*, who was yet eaſy to be deceived, by Reaſon of his Pride, and extravagant Confidence; and likewiſe becauſe of his Fear, and the Diſtreſs to which he ſaw himſelf reduced.

[c] *Ariamnes* therefore the *Arabian* having by fair Words perſuaded him to leave the River, led him into vaſt Plains by a Way that at firſt

[a] Hor. lib. 3. Ode 6.
Jam bis Monæſis & Pacori manus,
Non auſpicatos contudit impetus
Noſtros.

[b] Appian ibid. [c] Plutarch in Craſſo.

was

was pleaſant and eaſy, but afterwards very troubleſome, by Reaſon of the Depth of Sand; not a Tree, not any Water, and no end of this to be ſeen, ſo that they were not only ſpent with Thirſt and the Difficulty of the Paſſage, but the uncomfortable Proſpect of not a Bough, not a Stream, not a Hillock, not a green Herb, diſmayed them quite, but an odd kind of a Sea of Sand, which compaſſed the Army with its Waves. Here they began to ſuſpect ſome Treachery, which was the more confirmed, when Ambaſſadors from *Artavaſdes* came to acquaint the Conſul, that their King being engaged in a War againſt *Orodes*, who had invaded his Country, could not give him any Aſſiſtance, but that he adviſed him to turn his Arms that Way, and to join with the *Armenians*, in order to fight the *Parthians*; or if that were not his Judgment, at leaſt ſo to order his March, that he might avoid engaging in the Plains where the Horſe would have too much Advantage, but that he ſhould as much as poſſible draw towards the Mountains. To all which *Craſſus*, who would not write a Word in anſwer to the King, brutiſhly and like a Man in Choler, replied, *That he was not at Leiſure to think of the Affairs of* Armenia, *but that at his Return he would chaſtiſe* Artavaſdes *for his Treachery.* Upon this *Caſſius* and his Party began to complain, but when they found how much *Craſſus* was diſpleaſed, they fell to reviling the *Arabian* with a thouſand Reproaches: [a] *What miſchievous Dæmon brought thee hither, thou moſt villainous of all Mankind,* (ſaid they to him) *by what Witchcrafts or Enchantments haſt*

[a] Appian ibid.

thou

thou been able to perſuade Craſſus *to make his March through theſe vaſt Solitudes, more proper for a* Numidian *Robber than for the General of a* Roman *Army?* But the Barbarian being a very ſubtle Fellow drew them on with fair Words, exhorting them to have a little Patience, and encouraging the tired Soldiers to march, and with flattering Smiles, telling them, *What do you think you are marching now through* Campania, *or do you hope to find here Fountains, Rivers, Shades, Baths, and continual Inns? Remember,* I beſeech ye, *that you paſs now by the Confines of* Arabia *and* Syria. [a] Thus *Ariamnes* managed the *Romans* like Children, and before his Treaſon was diſcovered he rode away, not by Eſcape, but by Conſent of the Conſul, whom he made believe he went to give Orders about Things neceſſary, and to create ſome Diſorder in the Enemy's Camp. It was obſerved that *Craſſus* came not abroad that Day in his purple Robe after the manner of the *Roman* Generals, but clothed in black, which yet he went and changed as ſoon as he perceived it, and that ſome Enſigns pitch'd in the Ground ſtuck ſo faſt, that thoſe who were to carry them could ſcarcely pull them out, all which paſſed for Diverſion with the Conſul.

[b] He commanded preſently to march, and earneſtly urged the Legions to follow the Horſe, when ſome of his Scouts coming in, brought Word that others of their Fellows had been ſlain by the Enemy, and they had hardly eſcaped, and that a dreadful Multitude followed them at the Heels with Reſolution to fight. This News aſtoniſhed the whole Army, eſpe-

[a] Dio. Caſſ. lib. 40. [b] Id. ibid.

cially *Craſſus*, who began to put his Men into Order of Battel, but with a great deal of Irreſolution. He firſt, as *Caſſius* adviſed, commanded them to open their Ranks and Files, that they might take up as much Space as could be to prevent their being ſurrounded, and diſtributed his Horſe on the Wings; but afterwards changing his Mind he formed his Legion into a Battel of four Fronts, each of which he covered with twelve Cohorts, to every one of which he allotted a Troop of Horſe, that no part might be deſtitute of the Aſſiſtance the Horſe [a] might give, and that they might be ready to aſſiſt every where as Need ſhould require. One of the Wings he gave in Charge to *Caſſius*, the other to his Son, and kept himſelf in the main Battel: Thus they marched on till they came to a little River called *Baliſſus*, which though neither deep nor large was very welcome to the Soldiers, who had had ſo toilſome a March through Heat and Duſt. Moſt of the Officers not only adviſed the Refreſhment of the Army, but to reſt there all Night, that they might the better diſcover the Number and Poſture of the Enemy, and ſo engage them with the more Advantage the next Morning. But young *Craſſus* and his Horſemen calling out for the Battel, the Conſul again encouraged, commanded thoſe that had a Mind to it to eat and drink without ſtirring out of their Ranks, and before they had well refreſhed themſelves he marched forward the Army, not ſlowly, and often halting, as is uſually done by thoſe who would preſerve their Men for the Fight, but upon the Gallop, and all in a Breath,

[a] Plutarch, Appian, Dio. ibid.

till

till they ſaw the Enemy, contrary to their Expectation, but neither in any great Numbers, nor in a Poſture to give any Terror to the *Romans*; for the main Body of the Army was hid by theſe Vant-Curriers, who by *Surena*'s Order had with looſe Coats and Skins covered their Armour.

[a] But when they drew nearer, and the Enemies had given ſignal of Battel, a dreadful Noiſe was heard through the whole Plain, for the *Parthians* uſe in War neither Horns or Trumpets; but knowing well that of all the Senſes the Ear is moſt capable of affecting the Mind and ſtirring up the Paſſions, they beat all at once through the whole Army certain Drums, whoſe Hollowneſs makes a dreadful roaring, which in ſome Meaſure imitates Thunder. This Noiſe beginning to terrify the *Romans*, the *Parthians* threw off their looſe Coats, and ſhewed their Armor of poliſhed *Margianian* Steel, whoſe Brightneſs dazzled the Eyes, and they were diſcovered to be mounted on Horſes barbed and covered with Plates of Iron and Copper. *Surena* was the talleſt and comelieſt Man himſelf, and the Sweetneſs of his Looks and Effeminacy of his Habit could not promiſe ſo much Manhood as he was really Maſter of, for his Face was painted, and his Hair parted after the Faſhion of the *Medes*; whereas the other *Parthians* looked more terrible, with their Hair ſhaggy after the *Scythian* Mode, to make them appear the more formidable. At firſt they charged on the Spur with Lances in their Reſts againſt the Front of the *Roman* Battel to try to break it, but having ob-

[a] Id. Ibid.

ſerved

ſerved the legionary Bucklers joined ſo cloſe, and their Ranks faſt locked together they retreated, and pretending to ſeparate and break their Order, they encompaſſed the *Romans* round before they were aware. *Craſſus* ſent againſt them his light-armed Men, who made no great Impreſſion: For the Soldiers finding themſelves overwhelmed, and beaten down with Showers of Arrows, were glad to retire among the Ranks of the Legions, which was the firſt Occaſion of their Diſorder and Terror, eſpecially when they perceived the Strength and Force of their Darts, which were diſcharged with ſuch a Violence, that they equally wounded them that were armed and thoſe that were not. And now the *Parthians* began to fight at a Diſtance, with Flights of Arrows that were never ſhot in vain; for the *Romans* were ſo cloſed together, that tho' the *Parthians* would, they could not well have miſs'd them; and their Bows being great and ſtrong, and managed by vigorous Arms, they made no ſlight Wounds. Now was the State of the *Romans* deſperate, for if they kept their Ranks they were wounded, and if they charged the Enemy they could not reach them, and yet were wounded ſtill; for the *Parthians* diſcharged their Arrows as they fled, and next to them the *Scythians* are certainly the moſt skilful Nation in the World in this Exerciſe, invented doubtleſs to defend at once both from the Enemy and from the Shame of Flight.

[a] However, the *Romans* had ſome Hopes, by conſidering, that when the *Parthians* had once emptied their Quivers, they would either retire or come to handy-Strokes; but when they

[a] Id. ibid.

underſtood that they had in their Army great Numbers of Camels loaded with Arrows, and when the firſt Ranks had diſcharged thoſe they had, they wheeled off and took more, *Craſſus* ſeeing no end of it was out of all Heart, and ſent to his Son that he ſhould advance to charge the Enemy before they were encloſed, for they preſſed hard upon him, and wheeled about the Wing which he commanded to fall on in the Rear. Young *Craſſus* therefore taking with him thirteen hundred Horſe, of which *Cæſar* had given him a thouſand, and eight Cohorts of Foot armed with Bucklers which ſtood next him, drew off, and went furiouſly to charge the groſs of the Enemy; but they (whether the Place was miry, as ſome ſay, or that by this Stratagem they had a mind to draw the Conſul's Son as far as was poſſible from the reſt of the Army) turned about and fled. The General (who is ſaid by Hiſtorians [a] to have been a moſt excellent Perſon) immediately cried out that the Enemies fled and could not ſtand the Charge, and gave them chaſe, attended by *Cenſorinus* and *Megabachus*, the laſt famous for Strength of Body and true Courage, the other a Senator, and beſides a great Orator, both of the ſame Age with young *Craſſus*, and his familiar Friends. The Horſe followed and the Foot after them, all filled with Joy and Hope, believing they purſued a vanquiſhed Enemy. But they had not gone far before they diſcovered their Miſtake, for the *Parthians*, who made a ſhew of Flight, returned briskly to the Charge, ſupported now and ſtrengthened by greater Numbers. Upon this, thoſe that were at the

[a] Oroſius lib. 6. c. 13. Eutrop. lib. 6.

Head

Head of the *Romans* ſtood ſtill, believing, becauſe of their ſmall Number, the Enemies would attack them at Hand; but they placed their Curiaſſiers againſt the *Romans*, and with the reſt of their Horſe rode about ſcouring the Field, and ſtirring up the Sand they raiſed ſuch a Duſt, that the *Romans* could neither ſee nor ſpeak, and for want of room, tumbling upon one another, they were ſlain, not by a quick and eaſy Death, but with intolerable Pain and Convulſions; for rowling among the Darts they lingred away with their Wounds; and when they would by force pluck out the barbed Arrows, they caught hold of the Nerves and Veins, ſo that they tore and tortured themſelves miſerably: Many of them died thus, and thoſe that ſurvived were diſabled for any Service; and when *Publius* commanded them to charge the Cuiraſſiers, they ſhewed their Hands nailed to their Bucklers, and their Feet ſtruck through and faſtened to the Ground, ſo that they could neither fight nor fly.

Upon this young *Craſſus* reſolved to make one briſk Attempt with his Horſe, but the Strokes they gave with their weak and ſlender Javelins had but ſmall Effect upon the *Parthian* Cuiraſſiers of boiled Leather, guarded with Bands of Iron; on the contrary, their Steel-headed Lances piercing through and through the *Gauls* lightly armed, and almoſt naked, made the Match very unequal. He had great Confidence in theſe *Gauls*, and indeed they did Wonders: [a] They ſeized on theſe Lances with their naked Hands, and in endeavouring to wreſt them away, tumbled the Men at Arms from off

[a] Appian ibid. Plutarch ibid.

their Horſes, where they could ſcarce ſtir, by Reaſon of the Weight of their Armor, and many of them quitting their own Horſes would creep under thoſe of the Enemy, and ſtick them into the Belly, which growing unruly, by Reaſon of the Pain, trampled upon their Riders and Enemies promiſcuouſly. Nothing was more inſufferable to the *Gauls* than the Heat and Drought to which they were not accuſtomed; and beſides, many had loſt their Horſes, which had been ſlain by the Pikes or Lances; wherefore they reſolved to recover the Legions, having young *Craſſus* with them already tortured with many Wounds. Obſerving a ſandy Hillock not far off they made to it, tying therefore their Horſes to one another, and placing them in the midſt, and joining all their Shields together before them, they thought they might make ſome Defence amongſt the Enemy; but it fell out quite contrary; for though in a Level thoſe before did in ſome meaſure cover thoſe behind, yet here, by Reaſon of the declining Ground, one ſtanding above another, no Perſon could be in Security: They were all wounded alike, and died with the more Vexation, that they could not revenge themſelves, but muſt all periſh without Glory.

There were along with the young *Craſſus* two *Greeks* that lived at *Carras*, *Hieronymus* and *Nichomachus*, that perſuaded him to retire with them to *Icenas*, a Town not far from thence, an Ally of the *Romans*. *No*, ſaid he, *there is no Death ſo terrible, that for fear of it* Publius *would forſake his Companions, who had not engaged in this Danger but for his ſake*; but wiſhing them to take care of themſelves, he embraced them, and ſent them away: For his own

own part, not being able to make uſe of his Hand for a Wound he had received with an Arrow, he preſented his Breaſt to his Eſquire, commanding him to run him through: Some ſay *Cenſorinus* died in the ſame manner, and that *Megabachus* and moſt of the Nobility ſlew themſelves; the reſt, aſſaulted by the *Parthians*, died valiantly, defending themſelves; five hundred only were taken Priſoners. The Enemy immediately cut off the Head of young *Craſſus* and his Companions, and returned to find what was become of the Conſul.

[a] After the Command given to his Son to charge, ſome came and told him that the Enemy fled, and finding that he was not ſo hardly preſſed, for indeed they had left him, *Craſſus* began to take freſh Courage: He cauſed his Army to be drawn up in a convenient Place, expecting when his Son would return from the purſuit of the Enemy. In the mean time young *Craſſus* perceiving himſelf in danger, diſpatched away ſeveral Meſſengers to his Father to give him Notice, of whom the firſt were ſlain by the Enemies; and the next, who hardly eſcaped, brought Word that *Publius* was certainly loſt, if not ſuddenly relieved. *Craſſus* was mightily diſtracted, not knowing what Counſel to take: He was fearful of loſing all if he went to relieve his Son, yet he loved him, and at laſt reſolved that the Army ſhould march toward the Enemy, who preſently appeared to meet them; and witneſſed, by their loud and terrible Shouts, that they had gained the Victory, letting the *Romans* know, by the confuſed Noiſe of their Drums, that they muſt again prepare to fight.

[a] Plutarch, Dio Appian, ibid.

Thus the *Parthians* approached, bearing the Head of *Publius* upon a Lance, and asking, by way of Deriſion, *Who were the Parents of that gallant young Man, and of what Family he was?* For they could not believe that ſo valiant and brave a Gentleman could be the Son of ſo pitiful a Coward as *Craſſus*. This Sight caſt down the Spirits of the *Romans* more than all the Calamities they had ſuffered, and inſtead of ſtirring up in them that Indignation and Deſire of Revenge which it ought, overwhelmed them with Horror and Fear; though *Craſſus* out-did himſelf upon this Occaſion, for as he rode through the Ranks he cried,

This Misfortune concerns me only, fellow Soldiers; the Glory and Felicity of our Country remains yet entire, whilſt you are in a Condition to defend it; and if you have any Compaſſion upon me for having loſt a Son of that Value, diſcharge your Anger on your Enemies, and deprive them of their Joy, by puniſhing their Cruelty, nor be diſmayed at what is paſt, for whoever attempts great Matters muſt ſuffer ſomething: Lucullus *did not vanquiſh* Tigranes, *nor* Scipio Antiochus, *without the Expence of Blood: Our Anceſtors loſt a thouſand Ships in the Conqueſt of* Sicily, *and in* Italy *itſelf many Generals and Captains have periſhed, whoſe Loſs has not hindered their Party from getting the Victory; for the* Roman *Empire is not advanced to this Greatneſs and Power by the good Fortune of the* Romans, *but by their Patience and height of Courage in Adverſity.*

[a] *Craſſus* ſoon perceiving that moſt of the Soldiers received this Oration but coldly, commanded them to ſhout for the Battel, which

[a] Id. ibid.

ſerved

ſerved only to diſcover the Deadneſs of Heart which prevailed in his Army; for they made but a faint and weak Noiſe, whilſt the Barbarians anſwered them in a Tone high and loſty. The Fight preſently began, wherein the *Parthians* wheeling about the *Romans*, galled them in Flank with Showers of Arrows, whilſt the Lanciers, who aſſailed them in Front, made them recoil and croud cloſe together. However, ſome out of fear of the Arrows drew off from the groſs to charge nearer at hand: But theſe did little Execution, and were preſently killed by their Lances, whoſe iron Head entring the Body was followed by a thick Staff, thruſt forward with ſo great Violence, that it would run through Man and Horſe at once. After the Battel had thus laſted till Night the *Parthians* retreated; boaſting, that they gave that Night to *Craſſus* to bewail his Son, unleſs he made choice of the better Way, and had rather go and preſent himſelf to *Arſaces* than be carried; and therefore they took up their Quarters near the *Romans*, with full Hopes the next Morning to put an abſolute end to the Victory.

The [a] *Romans* on the contrary had but an ill Night of it; they had no Thoughts either of burying their Dead, or dreſſing their Wounded; every one lamented his own Fate, for there was no Hopes of eſcaping: Whether they ſtaid in that Place till Day, or whether whilſt it was dark, they ſet forward croſs thoſe vaſt Plains. And now the wounded Men gave them new Trouble; for to take them with them would retard their Flight, and if they ſhould leave

[a] Id. ibid.

them they might ſerve as Guides to the Enemy by their Cries. But however, they were deſirous to ſee and hear *Craſſus*, though they were ſenſible he was the Cauſe of all their Miſchief; but he retired and hid himſelf, where he lay as an Example of Fortune to the Vulgar, but to the Wiſe as an inſtance of Inconſiderateneſs and Ambition; who not content to be ſuperior to ſo many Millions of Men, but being inferior to two, eſteemed himſelf as the loweſt of all. Then came *Octavius* his Lieutenant, and *Caſſius* to comfort him; but ſeeing him in utter Deſpair, by the Advice of the Tribunes and Centurions, they ordered the Army to march without ſound of Trumpet, and began to decamp without Noiſe; but when the Sick and Wounded perceived that they were about to forſake them, with their Cries and Roarings they ſpread a general Terror throughout the Army, ſo that thoſe who had already got into the Plain took the Alarm, as if the Enemy had been ready to fall on; by which Means, now and then turning back, and then ſtanding to their Order, ſometimes taking up the Wounded that followed, ſometimes laying them down, they made but little Way, except three hundred Horſe, whom *Ignatius* brought ſafe to *Carræ* about Midnight; where calling to the Watch, as ſoon as they heard him, he bid them tell *Coponius* the Governor that *Craſſus* had fought a very great Battel with the *Parthians*: Having ſaid but this, and not ſo much as telling his Name, he rid away full Speed to *Zeugma*. This Officer by this Means ſaved himſelf and his Men, but he loſt his Reputation for deſerting his General. However, his Meſſage to *Coponius* was for the Advantage of *Craſſus*; for ſuſpecting by this haſty

and confuſed Delivery of himſelf that all was not well, he immediately ordered the Garriſon to be in Arms, and as ſoon as he underſtood that *Craſſus* was upon the Way towards him went out to meet him, and gathering up as many Soldiers as he could, conducted them to the City.

As for the *Parthians*, though they knew well that the *Romans* were diſlodged, yet they would not purſue them by Night, but as ſoon as it was Day they run to their Camp, and cut the Throats of all thoſe they had left, which were about four thouſand, and with their light Horſe pick'd up a great many Stragglers: [a] Beſides, four Cohorts, under the Conduct of the Lieutenant *Vargonteius*, having ſtraggled in their March by Night fell into their Hands, and were ſlain to a Man, excepting twenty, who with their drawn Swords forced their Way through the thickeſt, and they admiring their Courage, opened their Ranks to the right and left, and let them paſs without any farther Moleſtation to *Carræ*.

[b] Soon after a falſe Intelligence was brought to *Surena*, that *Craſſus*, with his principal Officers, had eſcaped, and that thoſe who were got into *Carræ* were but a confuſed Rout of inſignificant People, not worth farther Purſuit. Suppoſing therefore that he had loſt the very Crown and Glory of his Victory, and yet being uncertain whether it were ſo or not, he ſent one of his People, who underſtood both Languages, to the Walls of *Carræ*, with Orders to call *Craſſus* or *Caſſius* in *Latin*, for that

[a] Oroſius lib. 6. c. 13.
[b] Appian, Plutarch, Dio Caſſ. ibid.

the

the General *Surena* had a mind to treat with him. As ſoon as *Craſſus* heard this he embraced the Propoſal; and ſoon after came up a Band of *Arabians*, who very well knew the Faces of *Craſſus* and *Caſſius*, as having been frequently in the *Roman* Camp before the Battel. Theſe knowing *Caſſius* upon the Wall, told him, that *Surena* would grant Peace to the *Romans*, provided they would be Friends to the King, and depart out of *Meſopotamia*; and that they believed they had better accept theſe Conditions than reduce Things to the laſt Extremities: Upon which *Caſſius* demanded a Time and Place for a Conference between the Generals, and they promiſing to let them know went their Way. *Surena* rejoicing that he had now theſe two Men ſhut up, ſent next Morning ſome *Parthians* under the City Walls, who injuriouſly reviling *Craſſus* and *Caſſius*, demanded them to be delivered up if the *Romans* had a mind to Peace. And now the Officers of the *Roman* Army, knowing that they were betrayed, fell into Deſpair; but yet conſulting what was beſt to do, they reſolved on a ſudden Flight, beſeeching the Conſul to give over thoſe vain and diſtant Hopes he placed in the Aſſiſtance of the *Armenians*. This Deſign was not to be communicated to any of the Inhabitants of *Carræ* before the Time of its Execution, yet *Craſſus* diſcovered it to the moſt perfidious of all, one *Andromachus*, to whoſe Faith he committed himſelf, taking him for the Guide of the Army; ſo that by Means of this Traytor, all the *Roman* Deſigns were preſently known to the *Parthians*: And becauſe they were forbidden by the Laws of their Country to fight by Night, *Craſſus* choſe that time

to ſet out in; and the truſty *Andromachus*, leſt he ſhould get the ſtart too far of his Purſuers, led him into Moraſſes and Places full of Ditches and Encloſures, ſo that it was exceedingly painful and vexatious to his Company; and ſome there were, who ſuppoſing by theſe Windings and Turnings of *Andromachus* that no Good was intended, reſolved to follow him no farther, and at laſt *Caſſius* himſelf returned to *Carræ*; and his Guides the *Arabians*, adviſing him to tarry there till the Moon was got out of *Scorpio*, he told them, that *he was moſt afraid of* Sagittarius, and they, with five hundred Horſe, left him and went into *Aſſyria*.

[a] Others there were, who having got honeſt Guides, took their Way by the Mountains, and came into Places of Security by Day-break; theſe were five thouſand, under the Command of *Octavius*, a very gallant Man: But *Craſſus* fared worſe, for *Andromachus* had ſo entangled him in the Fens and rough Ways, that before he could get clear of them, the *Parthians* were at his Heels. There were with him four Cohorts of legionary Soldiers, ſome few Horſe, and five Lictors, with whom having with great Difficulty got into the Way, and not being above a Mile and a half from *Octavius*, inſtead of going to join him he retreated unto another Hill, neither ſo defenſible nor ſo unpaſſable for the Horſe, but yet lying under the Hills of *Sinnaca*, and continued in a long Ridge thro' the Plains. *Octavius* could ſee in what Danger the General was, and himſelf at firſt but ſlenderly followed, came in to their Reſcue. Soon after the reſt upbraiding one another with Baſe-

[a] Appian, Plutarch, Dio, ibid.

neſs

neſs in forſaking their Officers marched down, and falling upon the *Parthians* drove them from the Hill, and compaſſing *Craſſus* about, and fencing him with their Shields, bravely proteſted, that not an Arrow of the *Parthians* ſhould reach their General's Body, ſo long as one of them remained alive.

[a] *Surena* obſerving that the *Parthians* gave Ground, and that if Night came on, the *Romans*, who had already gained the Mountains, would eſcape him, betook himſelf to his uſual Craft: He let go ſome Priſoners who had heard a contrived Diſcourſe in the Camp, that the *Parthian* King would not be diſſatisfied to have Peace with the *Romans*, but deſired their Friendſhip; and that if he might obtain it by *Craſſus* his Means, he would treat him favourably. In the mean time, cauſing the Fight to ceaſe, he advanced nearer the Hill, and unbending his Bow preſented his Hand to *Craſſus*, deſiring him to conſent to an Accommodation. He told him, that the King having taken up Arms againſt his Will, the *Romans* had made Trial of his Strength and Power, and that now he would make them Taſte of his Goodneſs and Clemency, by ſhewing them his Favour, and ſecuring their Retreat. Not only the Soldiers, but the Officers glad to hear theſe fine Words of *Surena*'s, eaſily believed them. *Craſſus* was the only Man that was not deceived. Indeed he ſaw no Reaſon for ſo ſudden a Change, and therefore would not preſently conſent, but ſtood thinking what Anſwer to return, when the Soldiers began to cry out with one Voice, that they would have Peace, and to charge him

[a] Id. ibid.

with

with expoſing them to Men he durſt not himſelf approach diſarmed as they were. He endeavoured to perſuade them by Entreaties and Reaſons to have Patience the reſt of that Day, ſince at Night they might eaſily make their Retreat by gaining the Mountains: He ſhewed them the Way they ſhould take, begging them not to loſe all Hopes of Safety, which was now ſo nigh; but when he ſaw that the Soldiers enraged threatened him, and ſmote upon their Bucklers, he was afraid of them, and at parting ſaid only theſe Words to thoſe about him.

[a] Octavius, *and you* Petronius, *and all you Gentlemen of Quality here preſent, you ſee how I am forced to go; you are Witneſſes of the Violence done me, yet tell all the World, when you have gained a Place of Safety, that* Craſſus *loſt his Life deceived by his Enemies, but not delivered up to them by his Countrymen.*

But [b] *Octavius* and *Petronius* reſolved to follow him, and ſo went down from the Hill; as for the Lictors *Craſſus* bid them be gone. The firſt that met him were two half Blood *Greeks*, who leaping from their Horſes made a profound Reverence to *Craſſus*, and deſired him in *Greek* to ſend ſome before him, who might ſee that *Surena* himſelf was advancing, his Retinue diſarmed, and not having ſo much as their wearing Swords along with them. But *Craſſus* anſwered, that if he had but the leaſt Concern for his Life, he would never have entruſted himſelf in their Hands; but for Ceremony ſake he ſent two Brothers, the *Roſcii* by Name, to take an account how accoutred, and in what Num-

[a] Plut. in Craſſo. [b] Id. ibid.

bers

bers they came. Them *Surena* immediately ordered to be arreſted, and advancing with the principal Officers of his Army towards *Craſſus*: *And how* (ſaid he, coming near him) *a* Roman *General on Foot and we on Horſeback?* And at the ſame inſtant commanded a Horſe to be brought him. *Craſſus* having anſwered, that neither the one nor the other did amiſs in that, ſince each came to the Conference after the manner of his Country. *Surena* ſaid, that the Peace was already concluded between *Orodes* and the People of *Rome*, and that there wanted nothing but putting the Articles in writing. *For you*, Romans, ſaid he, *do not uſually remember your Treaties*, and at the ſame inſtant he gave him his Hand. *Craſſus* therefore gave Orders that one of his Pads ſhould be brought. *Surena* told him there was no need he ſhould put himſelf to that Trouble, for the King his Maſter preſents him with one, and immediately a Horſe, with a golden Bit, and very rich Trappings was brought up to him, and himſelf was forcibly put into the Saddle, and the Horſe was ſwitched by the *Parthian* Grooms to make the more Haſte; but [a] *Octavius* running up caught hold of the Bridle to ſtop him; and one of the Tribunes called *Petronius*, and after him all the reſt placed themſelves about the Conſul to hinder his going forward; from puſhing and ſhoving they ſoon came to Blows, and *Octavius* drawing his Sword ſlew one of the *Parthian* Horſemen, but another ſlew him with a Blow behind. *Petronius* had no offenſive Arms, but having received on his Cuiraſs the Thruſts made at him, withdrew himſelf from the Buſtle with-

[a] Arrian, Plutarch, Dio, ibid.

out

out any Wound. As for *Craſſus* he was ſlain by one *Maxarthes* a *Parthian*, though ſome ſay it was done by another, and that *Maxarthes*, after he was down, cut off his Head and his right Hand. This is the general Opinion, though Hiſtorians vary in their Accounts concerning the Death of the *Roman* General. *Dio* leaves it in doubt whether he were ſlain by the Enemy. [a] *Livy* relates that he was taken alive, but the Reſiſtance of the Tribunes provoked the *Parthians* to kill the General, leſt he ſhould eſcape. Thus fell *Craſſus* by the Treachery of *Surena* at *Sinnaca*, ſays [b] *Strabo*, a City of *Meſopotamia*; but the Perfidy of this Barbarian was ſoon after puniſhed, for *Orodes*, out of Envy for the Glory he had acquired, and afraid of the Ambition of *Surena*, cauſed him to be put to Death.

A terrible Slaughter of the *Romans* followed the Death of their General; a great Number fell around his Body; ſome attempted to regain the Hill, and get to their Companions: But the *Parthians* coming upon them, called to them on the part of *Surena*, that ſince *Craſſus* was puniſhed, all the reſt might come down in Safety. Some yielded themſelves, others fled away by Night, of which few eſcaped being taken and ſlain by the *Arabs*. It is ſaid, that in this Expedition there were twenty thouſand Soldiers ſlain, and ten thouſand taken Priſoners, which were confined in the City of [c] *Antioch*, built originally by *Alexander* the Great upon the River *Margus*, and afterwards reſtored by *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus* King of *Syria*.

[a] Liv. lib. 106. [b] Strabo lib. 16. Plut. in Craſſo.
[c] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 6. c. 16.

[a] *Appian*

[a] *Appian* relates, that of a hundred thouſand Men led into *Parthia* by *Craſſus*, ſcarce ten thouſand eſcaped into *Syria*. This Execution, ſays [b] *Dio*, happened in the middle of Summer; and by this Victory the *Parthians* again recovered all their Country that lay within the River *Euphrates*.

[c] *Surena* ſent the Head and Hand of *Craſſus* to *Orodes* into *Armenia*, and himſelf having beforehand cauſed a Report to be ſpread abroad at *Seleucia*, that he brought *Craſſus* alive, he prepared a certain ridiculous Entry, which Mockery he called a Triumph. For this Purpoſe he took one of the Priſoners called *Caius Pacianus*, who much reſembled *Craſſus*, and having clothed him in a Woman's Robe, and inſtructed him to take the Title of *Craſſus* and *Emperor* when he was ſaluted, they made him enter on Horſeback into the City; before him marched a Parcel of Trumpeters and Lictors mounted on Camels; the Girdles and Purſes of the *Romans* were hung at the end of the Bundles of Rods, and the Heads of the Slain freſh Bleeding at the end of their Axes. He was followed by the Courtizans of *Seleucia* playing upon Inſtruments, and ſinging infamous and ridiculous Songs, reflecting upon the Cowardice and Effeminacy of *Craſſus*. Such was the publick Spectacle; but *Surena* in particular calling together the Senate of *Seleucia*, he expoſed to them the laſcivious Fable of *Ariſtides* the *Mileſian*, which had been found among the Baggage of one *Roſtius*; this gave him an ample Subject to declaim upon againſt the *Romans*,

[a] Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. 2. [b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 40.
[c] Appian in Parthic. Plut. in Craſſo.

who

who even in time of War could not refrain from Leudneſs, but brought their Books along with them. The *Seleucians* upon this took occaſion to admire the Wiſdom of *Æſop* in the Fable of the Wallet, ſince *Surena* carried a Bag full of *Mileſian* Sonnets before him, but drawing after him a whole *Parthian Siberis*, or Brothel-houſe, his Train conſiſting of Coaches full of his Wenches. The Front of his Army appeared like a Hydra, dreadful and terrible, where nothing was to be ſeen but Horſes, and Lances, and Bows, whilſt his Tail ended in Cymbals, and Minſtrels, and Songs, and all the Inſtruments of Luxury. Not but that (as [a] *Appian* remarks) *Roſtius* was to be blamed; but the *Parthians* were in the wrong to droll upon what came from *Miletum*, for moſt of the Family of the *Arſacides*, who have been their Kings, were born of *Mileſian* or *Ionian* Strumpets.

Orodes was at this time in *Armenia*, having made Peace with *Artavaſdes*; for the *Armenian* King, upon the return of the Meſſengers that he had laſt ſent to the *Roman* Camp, finding by the Account which they brought of the Meaſures which *Craſſus* took in the War, he muſt of Neceſſity be undone, compounded Matters with the *Parthian*, by marrying one of his Siſters to *Pacorus* his Son, and by this Means they became Friends. The Nuptials were celebrated with great Solemnity: *Greek* Comedies were acted, for *Orodes* was a Scholar, and perfectly underſtood the Language; and for *Artavaſdes*, he had compoſed Tragedies, Orations and Hiſtories of his own, part of which (ſays [b] *Appian*) have been preſerved to our Times.

[a] Id. ibid. [b] Id. ibid.

While they were ſitting together at the Feaſt, the Head and Hand of *Craſſus* were brought to the Entrance of the Court, and a Comedian, called *Jaſon* the *Trallian*, was reciting ſome Verſes of the Part of *Agave* in the *Bacchæ* of *Euripides*, which much delighted the Company. At the ſame inſtant one *Syllaces* entered the Room where they were carouſing, and making a profound Reverence, threw down the Head and Hand of *Craſſus*, which were taken up by the *Parthians* with Shouts and general Rejoicing. The King immediately commanded the Officers to make room for *Syllaces* at the Table, which they did; then *Jaſon* giving one of the Players upon the Flute his Part to play the Funerals of *Pentheus*, and himſelf taking the Head of *Craſſus*, began in an enthuſiaſtic manner, as loud as he could ſpeak, to ſing theſe Verſes.

We bring you from the Mountain freſh and bleeding,
A mighty Stag, a noble Prey.

All the Company were pleaſed at this Humour; but one Accident delighted them more, for when the Queſtion was ask'd

Who ſlew him?

The *Chorus* anſwered

To me the Honour's due.

At which *Maxarthes*, who was at the Feaſt, leaped from the Table, and took the Head out of his Hands that held it, as having

the

the beſt Right to it: The King was mightily pleaſed at this Scuffle, and ordered him Preſents according to the Cuſtom of the Country, and gave *Jaſon* a Talent. Thus ended the unfortunate Expedition of *Craſſus*; and among other Indignities (as [a] *L. Florus* relates) his Head and right Hand were brought to the King, who made Sport with him, and that not improperly; for he ordered melted Gold to be poured in at his open Mouth, *that he* (ſays the Hiſtorian) *whoſe Mind was on Fire with the Deſire of Gold while he was alive, his dead and bloodleſs Head might be ſcorched with it after Death.*

The [b] *Parthians*, upon this Succeſs, recovered all the Country they had loſt within the River *Euphrates*. The Remains of the *Roman* Army ſhifted every Man for himſelf, and being ſcattered into *Armenia*, *Cilicia* and *Syria*, there was ſcarce a Man left alive to bring the News of the Overthrow; and moſt of the Provinces of the Eaſt had taken this Opportunity to revolt from the People of *Rome*, had not *Caſſius* formed an Army in *Syria*, and kept them in Obedience. The [c] *Parthians*, elated with this Succeſs, ſoon paſſed the *Euphrates*, and not ſuſpecting any Oppoſition in that Country, made an Invaſion upon *Syria*; but they met with ſo warm a Reception from *Caſſius*, that they were ſoon obliged to repaſs the River with Loſs and Diſappointment. They found they had now a Perſon to deal with different from *Craſſus*, and retreating within their Borders, they raiſed new Forces, in order to a ſecond

ÆR. ARSAC. 205.

[a] Lucius Flor. lib. 3. c. 11.
[b] Florus ibid. [c] Dio Caſſ. lib. 40.

Invaſion. *Caſſius*[a] in the mean time went to *Tyre*, from thence he arrived in *Judæa*, and having forced *Alexander* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* to Terms of Peace, he removed his Camp to the *Euphrates*, to oppoſe the *Parthians* from making another Attempt upon the Province of *Syria*.

Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus had the Province of *Syria*, and *M. Tullius Cicero* that of *Cilicia* aſſigned them by the *Romans* for their conſular Provinces. *Cicero* ſoon went to his Charge with twelve thouſand Foot, and two thouſand ſix hundred Horſe; but *Bibulus* making unneceſſary Delays, *Caſſius* continued ſtill in the Government of *Syria*; and by that means the *Roman* Intereſt was ſecured in that Province, requiring a Perſon of greater Abilities to manage Affairs at that Juncture than *Bibulus* could pretend to; for as ſoon as the Seaſon admitted, the *Parthian* Army, with the Aſſiſtance of other Nations, paſſed the *Euphrates*, under the Command of *Pacorus* the King's Son; this young Prince had the nominal Command, but he was too young at that time to be at the Head of an Army, being not above fifteen Years old; ſo that *Orſaces*, an old experienced Officer, had the whole Direction and Management of the War.

The[b] *Parthians* entering *Syria* reduced all Places that lay in their Way, and coming to *Antioch* laid Siege to the Place, ſhutting up *Caſſius* and all his Forces. *Cicero* encamped at *Iconium*, where News was brought him by the

[a] Joſeph. lib. 1. Bell. cap. 6. lib. 14. Antiq. c. 12. Plut. in Cicerone.

[b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 40. Cicero lib. 5. ad Attic. Epiſt 16. Cicer. ad Fam. lib. 15. Ep. 4. & lib. 2. Ep. 10. Dio Caſſ. lib. 40.

Embaſ-

Embaſſadors of *Antiochus* King of *Commagena*, that the *Parthians* had plundered the Country, and were all that time beſieging of *Antioch*. The Proconſul immediately gathered his Forces, and marched to the eaſtern Borders of *Cilicia*, lying next to *Armenia*; and at the ſame time he ſent other Troops towards the Mountain *Amanus* (the Boundary between *Syria* and *Cilicia*) who falling upon a great Party of *Parthian* Horſe, which had entered that Way into *Cilicia*, cut them all off to a Man. The News of this Succeſs and of the Approach of *Cicero* was ſoon brought to *Antioch*, and encouraged *Caſſius* and his Men in the Defence of the Place; but the *Parthian* Army being intimidated raiſed the Siege (for they were very unskilled in ſtorming of Places) and marched to *Antigonia* another *Syrian* City, and ſate down before it. The Suburbs of this City was planted with thick Trees, which the *Parthians* at firſt reſolved to cut down; but finding it a Work of Time and Difficulty, and that *Caſſius* had picked up a great many of their Men as they ſtragled Abroad, they retreated, and marched away; but *Caſſius* having placed Ambuſhes in the Way, ſhewed himſelf to them with a few at firſt, to draw them to purſue him; and his Stratagem ſucceeded, for taking the Advantage of turning again, he gave them a complete Overthrow; and *Orſaces* the great Commander of the *Parthians*, received a Wound, of which he died a few Days after.

[b] *Juſtin* gives another Account of this Matter. *Pacorus*, ſays he, being ſent to purſue the

[a] Dio ibid. Cicero lib. 5. ad Attic. Ep. 20.
[b] Juſtin lib. 42.

Remains of the *Roman* Army, after he had fought frequently with Succeſs in *Syria*, he was called Home again, as miſtruſted by his Father, in whoſe Abſence the Army of the *Parthians* that was left in *Syria* was with all the Officers ſlain by *Caſſius* the Treaſurer of *Craſſus*. Upon this the *Parthian* Army repaſſed the *Euphrates*, but towards the end of the Summer they returned again, and winter'd in *Cyrrheſtica*, a Northern Diſtrict of the Province of *Syria*: In the mean time *Bibulus* being come into the Province, *Caſſius* delivered him the Army and returned to *Rome*.

The[a] *Parthians* having winter'd in *Cyrrheſtica* on this ſide the *Euphrates*, as ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year admitted, invaded *Syria* with Fire and Sword, and marching to *Antioch* ſate down before it, and there beſieged *Bibulus* with all his Forces. The *Roman* General made not one Sally to diſturb the Enemy; and though he was diſtreſſed, yet he was heard to ſay, that he would rather ſuffer any thing than call in *Cicero* to his Help. He was certainly afraid of the *Parthians*, for he never ſet Foot without the Town, ſo long as the Enemy was on this ſide the *Euphrates*. They left him, ſays *Cicero*, to his Friend *Atticus*, but half alive, and to his incredible Felicity it was that they departed out of *Syria*. But what he durſt not attempt by Force he effected by Policy; for by his Agents he raiſed a Rebellion in *Parthia*, making uſe of the Diſcontent of a *Parthian* Nobleman, one[b] *Ordonopantes*, and the Army was ſent for

[a] Cicero ad Famil. lib. 8. Epiſt. 4. Idem lib. 6. ad Attic. Ep. 5. & Epiſt. 8. lib. 7. ad Attic. Ep. 2.

[b] Dio lib. 40.

Home

Home to ſuppreſs it: By this Means the Province was delivered from a deſperate War, and *Syria* for ſome time remained undiſturbed in the Poſſeſſion of the *Romans*.

[a] *Bibulus*, upon the Expiration of his Government, returned to *Rome*; and having before ſent to the Senate a fulſome and falſe Account of his Conduct and Succeſs in *Syria*, had in his Honour a Proceſſion of twenty Days decreed to him by the Perſuaſion of *Cato*. But the Legions appointed by the Senate to be ſent into *Syria* againſt the *Parthians* were countermanded, becauſe the War was over on that ſide; yet a Decree of the Senate paſſed, that there ſhould be ſent to *Bibulus* for the *Parthian* War one Legion from *Pompey* and another from *Cæſar*. *Pompey* of thoſe Legions that he had with him ſent none, but yet he gave Orders to the Commiſſioners in the Affair, that they ſhould demand a Legion from *Cæſar* that he had lent him before. *Cæſar*, though he made no Queſtion but his Enemies deſigned to ſtrip him of all his Legions, ſent back the Legion he had borrowed to *Pompey*, and diſpatched alſo another, that he might ſatisfy the Decree of the Senate: Theſe two Legions were furniſhed as though they were to be ſent againſt the *Parthians*, but ſince there was no uſe for them in that War, the Conſul *Marcellus* fearing they ſhould be again reſtored to *Cæſar* kept them in *Italy*, and gave them to *Pompey*.

[b] The Differences between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* were now come to that height that they ÆR. ARSAC. 208

[a] Cæſar. Comment. de Bell. Civil. lib. 1: Plut. in Pompeio. Dio Caſſ. ſub fine lib. 40.

[b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 41. Juſtin. lib. 42.

were to be decided by nothing but the Sword, and the Contenders called in the whole *Roman* World to their Aſſiſtance. *Pompey* attempted by Embaſſadors to bring over *Orodes* the *Parthian* to his Side, though after the Death of the *Craſſi* he was reckoned among the Enemies of the *Roman* People. The King promiſed to ſupport him with Forces, on Condition that he would deliver up to him the Province of *Syria*; but that being denied, he kept his Army entire, to make his Advantage of theſe Conteſts. The *Parthians* of themſelves were diſpoſed to favour *Pompey*'s Party, both by Reaſon of the Friendſhip they had contracted in the *Mithridatick* War, and alſo upon account of the Death of *Craſſus*, whoſe Son they heard was of *Cæſar*'s Side, and would, they ſuppoſed, uſe all Opportunities of revenging his Father's Death [a], if *Cæſar* ſucceeded: And *Pompey* was ſo well ſatisfied of the good Will of the *Parthian* King, that when he fled, after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, he determined to go Eaſtward, and put himſelf under the Protection of *Orodes*. This Deſign was told to no one, till he was ready to land in *Cilicia*; he diſcovered it to his Friends, but they adviſed him not to truſt the *Parthian*, againſt whom *Craſſus* had lately to very ill Purpoſe made War, and was ſtill puffed up with the Victory gained againſt the *Romans*; beſides, they thought it not ſafe to carry among Barbarians ſo beautiful a Woman as *Cornelia* the Wife of *Pompey*, who had been the Widow of young *Craſſus*.

[a] Appian de Bell. Liv. lib. 2.

[b] *Orodes*

[a] *Orodes* took the first Opportunity of declaring himself an Enemy to *Cæsar*; for after the Death of *Pompey*, *Cæcilius Bassus* a *Roman* of the Equestrian Order, who had fought on *Pompey*'s Side at the Battel of *Pharsalia*, retiring into *Syria*, found Means to kill *Sextus Cæsar* the President of the Province, and seizing upon *Apamia*, fortified the Place, and making it the Seat of his Residence, he took upon him the Government of *Syria*: Here he was besieged by *Antistius Vetus* at the Head of the *Cæsarean* Party, and both Sides applied to the neighbouring Cities and Princes for Assistance. *Alcaudonius* an *Arab* King being on this Occasion sollicited by both Parties, came with an Army, and planting himself between *Apamia* and the Camp of the *Cæsareans* that covered the Siege, offered himself by way of Auction to that Side which would give most, and *Bassus* accordingly became the Purchaser: At the same time came to his Assistance *Pacorus* the Son of *Orodes* with an Army of *Parthians*, and soon forced the *Cæsareans* to raise the Siege.

[b] *Cæsar* resolved to take Revenge upon the *Parthians* for declaring in favour of *Bassus*; and at this time the general Inclination of the *Roman* People promoted his Design, for they began to think that they had too long delayed to take Satisfaction for the Death of *Crassus*, and the Loss of the Army. This War was unanimously decreed to *Cæsar*, and a great Preparation was made for it; among other Things they appointed Magistrates beforehand for three Years (for so long they thought the *Parthian* ÆR. ARSAC. 212.

[a] Dio Cass. lib. 47. Strabo lib. 16.
[b] Dio Cass. lib. 43.

War might last.) [a] Half of these were submitted to *Cæsar*'s choice, but by his Interest the whole Number was elected out of his own Friends. *Cæsar*, before he should begin this intended Expedition, had a Mind to be declared King of *Rome*; and for this Purpose he prevailed with the Keepers of the *Sibilline* Books to give out an Oracle, that the *Parthians* were not to be conquered but by a King. *Cicero* upon this Occasion says, *Let us prevail with the Keepers of these Books to relate any thing out of them rather than a King, a Name which neither the Gods nor Men will ever endure within the Walls of* Rome [b]. This Remark is a plain Evidence that those Books were made use of as an Engine of State, from whence the Keepers produced as Oracles such Answers as they contrived themselves, and would best serve the intended Purpose. Four Days before *Cæsar* designed to set out to the *Parthian* War, he was most villainously slain by a Conspiracy in the open Senate House.

[c] The Death of *Cæsar* occasioned great Contests in *Rome* about the Province of *Syria*, but it fell at last to *Dolabella* a young Nobleman, who succeeded *Cæsar* in the Consulship, with a Commission to carry on the *Parthian* War; but *Cassius*, one of the Murderers of *Cæsar*, got into the Province before *Dolabella* arrived, and seized upon the Government of it by Force. And *Dolabella* being soon after declared an Enemy to the *Roman* People, the Authority of *Cassius* was confirmed by Decree of the Senate,

[a] Dio Cass. lib. 44. Plutarch in Cæsare.
[b] De Divinatione lib. 2, cap. 54.
[c] Dio Cass. lib. 45. Plut. in Cicerone.

and coming into *Syria* he got all the Army to declare for him, and made up his Forces to the Number of eight Legions. [a] He ſoon reduced the whole Province to Obedience, which was the eaſier done, becauſe of the Character he had obtained for ſaving that Country from the *Parthians* after the Overthrow of *Craſſus*. But *Caſſius*, after he had plundered the Province, was obliged to leave it to the Government of his Nephew with one Legion, being forced to march with the reſt of his Army to aſſiſt *Brutus*, another of *Cæſar*'s Murderers; and after they had been routed at the Battel of *Philippi* by *Octavius* and *Marc Anthony*, they both fell upon their Swords, and died by their own Hands.

[b] After the Victory of *Philippi Anthony* paſſed over into *Aſia*, and exacted heavy Contributions for the Support of his Forces: He uſed the ſame Method in *Syria* to pay his Army, and hearing of the rich City of *Palmyra* (built by King *Solomon*, and called *Tadmor* in the Scriptures [c]) he ſent all his Horſe to plunder it. This City is built on an Iſland of firm Land in the midſt of a vaſt Ocean of Sand, and is placed on this ſide the *Euphrates* in the Confines of two mighty Empires, the *Parthians* on the Eaſt, and the *Romans* on the Weſt, and in time of War they frequently ſuffered by both of them. But upon this Occaſion the *Palmyrenians* had ſeaſonable Notice of *Anthony*'s Deſign, and wiſely removed all their Families and Effects on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*, which diſappointed the Plunderers,

[a] Appian lib. 4. de Bell. Civil.
[b] Plut. in Antonio. [c] 1 Kings ix. 18.

and

and upon their return to the City they put themſelves under the Protection of the *Parthians*, which became one of the principal Cauſes of the ſecond *Parthian* War.

Ær. Arsac. 215. For [a] *Anthony* ſoon after leaving *Syria* to gratify his Paſſion with *Cleopatra* the *Egyptian* Queen, he left one *Saxa* to be his Lieutenant in that Province, who ſo oppreſſed the People with Taxes and Impoſitions, that the Inhabitants of the Iſland *Aradus* in *Syria*, and ſome others, fell upon the Collectors of the Tributes and ſlew them, and joining with the *Palmyrenians*, they likewiſe agreed to call in the Aſſiſtance of the *Parthians*. [b] Upon this Invitation the *Parthians* paſſed the *Euphrates* with a great Army, under the Command of *Pacorus* the King's Son, and *Labienus* a *Roman* General of the *Pompeian* Party. This *Labienus* was the Son of *Titus Labienus* who had been *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant in *Gallia*, and one of the chiefeſt of his Friends; but afterwards going over to *Pompey* became the bittereſt of his Enemies, and was ſlain fighting againſt him in the Battel of *Munda*. His Son purſuing the ſame Intereſt, was ſent by *Brutus* and *Caſſius* a little before the Battel of *Philippi* in an Embaſſy to the *Parthian* King, to ſollicite his Aſſiſtance for that War; bnt after that Defeat, ſuppoſing the Conquerors would pardon none of the adverſe Party, he thought it better to continue with the Barbarians than to periſh in his own Country, and therefore entered into the Service of the *Parthians*. As ſoon as he had Notice of the Indolence of *Anthony* and his Amours in

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 48.

[b] Appian in Parthic. Plut. in Cæſare & Pompeio. Dio Caſſ. ibid.

Egypt,

Egypt, he adviſed *Orodes* to make War upon the *Romans*, who on the Account of the great Loſſes they had lately ſuffered, and their civil Diſſentions within themſelves, might eaſily be driven out of *Syria*. He therefore perſuaded the King, whilſt *Cæſar* was detained in *Italy*, by Reaſon of *Sextus Pompeius*, and *Anthony* was playing the Lover in *Egypt*, to invade the Province: The *Parthian* approved of the Deſign, and raiſed a great Army, and made *Labienus* his General, under his Son *Pacorus*, to put it in Execution.

[a] The *Parthian* Army immediately broke into *Phœnice*, and ſetting upon the City *Apamia*, was repulſed from the Walls; but they took the Gariſons placed in that Country by Surrender, which conſiſted of the Soldiers left in the Province by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; theſe all ſubmitted to *Labienus*, except *Saxa* the Lieutenant; he was the Brother of *Decidius Saxa*, *Anthony*'s Quæſtor, and was the only Man of Note that did not join with *Labienus* and the *Parthians*: *Saxa* was ſoon overcome and routed by *Labienus*, by the Valour of his Horſe, who purſued him as he was flying by Night out of his Camp. Upon this Succeſs *Pacorus* and *Labienus* divided their Army. [b] *Labienus* with one part purſued *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, and having there ſlain him, over-ran all the *Leſſer Aſia*, then under the Command of *Plancus*, whom he obliged to fly into the Iſles; and by that Means extended the *Parthian* Dominions as far as the *Helleſpont* and the *Ægean* Sea. *Pacorus* with the other part of his Army over-ran all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, as far as *Tyre*, which

[a] Dio Caſſ. ibid. [b] Appian in Parthic.

alone

alone ſtood out againſt him; for the Remainder of the *Romans* Forces, with ſome of the *Syrians* that were Enemies to the *Parthians*, had ſhut themſelves up in that City, which for want of a Fleet at Sea, the *Parthians* could not become Maſters of.

ÆR. ARSAC. 216. [a] After this Succeſſion in the *Leſſer Aſia* *Pacorus* invaded *Judæa*, with a Deſign to fix *Antigonus* in the Poſſeſſion of the Government: He was the Son of *Ariſtobulus* the late King of the *Jews*, that had been poiſoned by the *Pompeian* Faction, and applying to *Cæſar* to be confirmed in his Father's Kingdom he was repulſed, and the Prieſthood and the Principality of *Judæa* was decreed to *Hircanus* and his Family. This Settlement was chiefly brought about by the Intereſt of *Antipater* the *Idumæan*, who had by his Wiſdom and Foreſight made himſelf neceſſary to the *Roman* Governors in thoſe Parts, and had been particularly ſerviceable to *Cæſar* in his *Egyptian* Expedition, who owed his Deliverance at *Alexandria*, and the fortunate End of that War wholly to him: This *Antipater* had now four Sons grown up to maturity of Age, and of great Reputation for Valour and Wiſdom; the eldeſt *Phaſaelus*, the ſecond *Herod*, the third *Joſeph*, and the youngeſt *Pheroras*.

[b] The *Parthians* invading *Paleſtine*, *Antigonus* thought he had an Opportuuity of trying for his Right: His Party was conſiderably ſtrong in the Country, and he was ſupported by ſeveral neighbouring Princes, particularly by *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Mennæus* Prince of

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 14. c. 15. de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. c. 8.
[b] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. c. 11.

Chalcis,

Chalcis, who had married his Sister. *Ptolemy* dying this Year, he was succeeded in that Principality by *Lysanias* his Son: This Prince had a great Interest in an Officer of Note in the *Parthian* Army, one *Barzapharnes*, and proposing to him the Case of *Antigonus*, he contracted with him to depose *Hircanus*, and settle *Antigonus* in the Kingdom of *Judæa*, for a Reward of a thousand Talents, and five hundred *Jewish* Women. This Agreement was confirmed by *Pacorus*, who immediately sent a part of his Army from *Ptolemais*, under the Command of the King's Butler, called also *Pacorus*, with Orders to march into *Judæa*, and to support *Antigonus* as Occasion required. The *Jews* of Mount *Carmel* sided with *Antigonus*, who fancied that by their Assistance he might make himself Master of that part of the Country which they call *Drymæ*; and he was persuaded by others also that came over to him to push forward even to *Jerusalem* itself; which he did accordingly, by the Help of several strong Enforcements that joined him, with a Resolution to attack *Herod* and *Phasael* in the very Palace. But while this was in Agitation, the two Brothers, with a considerable Body of their Friends, fell upon them in the Market Place, and beating them from their Post they fled into the Temple. *Herod* clap'd a Guard of Soldiers into the adjoining Houses for the better Security of the Place: But the Multitude breaking violently in upon them, before they could be relieved, set fire to the Buildings over their Heads, and burnt the Houses to Ashes, together with the Defendants. Soon after this Outrage *Herod* had his Revenge, in a defeat he gave them, with a very great Slaughter.

ter. They went skirmiſhing on from Day to Day till toward the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, which *Antigonus* and his Party expected with great Impatience, becauſe of the mighty Confluence of People that reſorted thither upon that Solemnity. The Time being come there were ſeveral thouſands gathered together about the Temple, ſome with Arms, others without, and the City as well as the Temple was crouded with them, all but the Palace, which *Herod* with a ſmall Party maintained; the Charge of the Walls and the Outworks being committed to *Phaſael*. The Enemy having poſted themſelves in the Suburbs, *Herod* made a brave and a deſperate Sally upon them, wherein he did great Execution, driving ſeveral Thouſands before him, ſome into the Temple, ſome into the City, and forcing others to take Sanctuary behind a Rampart juſt by; *Phaſael* likewiſe acquitting himſelf in this Action like a Man of Honour.

[a] The *Parthians*, during theſe Diſturbances, were encamped without the Walls of the City; but now *Antigonus* propoſed a Treaty of Peace, and offered the King's Butler for an Umpire. *Phaſael* entertained the Motion, and took the *Parthian* with five hundred Horſe into the City. His Pretence was only the compoſing of a Mutiny, but the plain Truth of his Intention was the aſſiſting of *Antigonus*. *Phaſael* entertained the *Parthian* with great Civilities, and had ſuch an Opinion of his Fidelity, that he was perſuaded by him to go an Embaſſy to *Barzaphanes* (who governed *Syria* under the King's Son) as the beſt Method to ſettle his

[a] Ibid.

Affairs:

Affairs: He therefore set out, and to support his Authority the better, he took *Hircanus* along with him. This was contrary to the Opinion of *Herod*, who cautioned him how he trusted the Butler, for he was false, and it was but natural for a Barbarian so to be; he was a Traytor, he said, and deserved to be treated as such.

[a] When they came to *Galilee* they found the People divided, and in Arms; but the Governors of Places however came out to meet them: They were met by a Guard to conduct them to *Barzaphanes*, and the Butler returned to *Jerusalem*. The *Parthian* had the Wit to cover the Falseness of his Heart with outward Civilities, but he laid an Ambush ready to surprize them on their Return. They were conducted to a Place near the Sea called *Ecdippon*; and here they had an account of the Treachery. One *Ophelius* was the Man to whom *Saramalla* (a *Syrian*, and the richest Man of the Country) had communicated the whole Design, and endeavoured to the utmost to persuade *Phasael* to provide for his own Safety. But *Phasael*'s Resolution was, whatever he suffered, not to abandon *Hircanus*, so that he resolved to charge *Barzaphanes* with the Treachery, and to lay the Matter home to him. *If Money*, says he, *be your Business, I can give you more for my Life, than* Antigonus *has promised you for the Kingdom.* This put the *Parthian* upon a violent Denial, with the most solemn Oaths and Imprecations. It was all but a Fancy, he said, and so he went his Way to the Butler towards *Jerusalem*. No sooner was he gone, but *Hir-*

[a] Ibid.

canus and *Phaſael* were taken into Cuſtody by the *Parthians* that ſtaid behind, and had only the Liberty left them of exclaiming againſt ſo horrid a Perjury and Treaſon.

[a] *Pacorus* the Butler all this while had his Leſſon given him to try if he could decoy *Herod* out of the Town, and take him. But *Herod* was ſo well acquainted with the treacherous Practices of thoſe Barbarians, that he would not ſo much as ſtir out of the Walls; but he ſoon found an Opportunity to ſlip away by Night with ſome of his neareſt Relations towards *Idumæa*. The *Parthians* had no ſooner Notice of his Departure but they followed him; but he got the better of them in ſeveral Encounters, retiring at laſt to the Caſtle of *Maſſada*, the ſtrongeſt Fortreſs in all that Country. The *Jews* were harder upon him in his Flight than the *Parthians*, but both fell upon him about ſeven Miles from *Jeruſalem*, where it came to a downright Battel. *Herod* got the Victory, with a great Slaughter of Men, and for the eternal Honour of the Action, he erected a moſt magnificent Palace upon the Place, with a ſtrong Caſtle in it, which he called *Herodion*, after his own Name.

[b] The Hearts of the *Parthians* at *Jeruſalem* were altogether ſet upon Plunder, breaking into the Houſes of thoſe that were gone, and rifling the Royal Palace itſelf, but without ſo much as touching the Treaſure of *Hircanus*, which was not above three hundred Talents; but they poſſeſſed themſelves of other Riches, though not ſo much as they expected, for *Herod* had the Providence to take out what was moſt pre-

[a] Ibid. [b] Ibid.

cious, and to transport it long before to *Idumæa*, his Companions also taking the same Course. But after the *Parthians* were Masters of the Spoil of the Town, they were not content with that Ravage, but infested the Countries also with a bloody and implacable War: They laid waste the City of *Marissa*, and not only constituted *Antigonus* King, but delivered *Phasael* and *Hircanus* in Chains into his Hands; and to render *Hircanus* absolutely incapable of the Priesthood, *Antigonus* tore off his Ears with his Teeth. *Phasael*, to prevent the Cruelty of *Antigonus*, dashed out his Brains against a Wall, and dy'd (says [a] *Josephus*) like a Man of Honour, and his End was suitable to the Glory of his Life. *Antigonus* could not make good his Promise of five hundred Women to the *Parthians*; but that Business was made up at *Jerusalem*, and *Hircanus* was sent bound into *Parthia*.

[b] *Herod* in this Distress applied himself to *Malchus* the King of *Arabia*, but he was immediately ordered to depart out of his Territories; for it was pretended that the *Parthians* had demanded by their Ambassadors that *Herod* might have no Protection in that Country; from thence he went to *Egypt*, and there resolving upon a Voyage to *Rome*, he put to Sea, and after a difficult Passage, with the Hazard of his Life, he landed in *Italy*. When he came to *Rome*, the Person to whom he made his first Application was *Anthony*, upon the Account of an antient Kindness and Acquaintance between him and his Father *Antipater*; and to him he recounted the Adventures and Misfor-

[a] Ibid. [b] Id. Ibid.

tunes both of himself and his Family, and how he had made a Winter Voyage of it to pay his Duty to him, and implore his Assistance. *Anthony* was so affectionately moved with this Representation, that he resolved to depose *Antigonus*, and to make *Herod* King of the *Jews*. Upon this there was a Senate called, where *Antigonus* was declared a publick Enemy, for receiving a Crown from the Hands of the *Parthians*, and *Herod* was unanimously voted into the Kingdom; *Anthony* especially insisting that it would highly advance the *Roman* Interest in the Prosecution of the *Parthian* War.

While these Things were acting in *Palestine* for the Crown of *Judæa*, *Labienus*, with the other part of the *Parthian* Army, overran *Cilicia*, more like Thieves than Enemies, and took all the Cities upon the Continent of *Asia*, most of them without striking a Stroke, except *Stratonice*; but *Melissa* and *Alabanda* he took by Force; for these Cities, when they had received a Garison from *Labienus*, upon a festival Day, put the Garison to the Sword, and revolted; upon which *Labienus*, having recovered *Alabonda*, put the Citizens to Death, and razed *Melissa* to the Ground, being forsaken by its Inhabitants; but *Stratonice* held out against all his Forces. At last, after he had got together a prodigious Booty, by plundering of Towns, and robbing of Temples, he assumed the Title of the *Parthian* Emperor; for a Reason, says the Historian, entirely different from the *Romans*; for he imposed upon himself a Name from Barbarians, whom he led against his own Country, as if he had conquered them,

[a] Dio Cass. lib. 48. Florus lib. 4. c. 9. Plut. in Antonio.

and was not all the while triumphing over his fellow Citizens: He coined Money upon this Occasion as a sovereign Prince; on the one side was his Head, and round it this Inscription, *Q. Labienus Parthicus Imp. Quintus Labienus Parthian Emperor*; on the reverse was a Horse, with a Leopard's Skin laid on the Back for a Saddle, after the manner of the *Parthians*. The Reason, says [a] *Strabo*, why *Labienus* gave up *Melissa*, a City of *Candia*, to be plundered by his Soldiers, was upon the Account of an Indignity offered him by *Hybreas* the Governor of the Town; for when *Labienus* had proudly called himself Emperor of *Parthia*, the *Cilician*, by way of Sneer, wrote himself Emperor of *Caria*, which so incensed the *Roman*, that he attacked the City with all his Army, and sack'd it; but *Hybreas* with great Difficulty escaped to *Rhodes*.

[b] *Anthony* was all this while revelling at *Alexandria* with the *Egyptian* Queen; but having received frequent Advices of the declining State of his Affairs in *Syria*, by the Ravages of the *Parthians*, he set out early the next Spring to remedy these Misfortunes, and came to *Tyre*, but finding all the Country in the Hands of the *Parthians* he sailed to *Italy*. There he had an account that his Wife *Fulvia* was dead at *Sicyon*; and marrying with *Octavia*, the Sister of *Octavianus* (afterwards *Augustus Cæsar*) the Triumvirs came to a new Division of the *Roman* Empire. *Lepidus* had for his Share the Provinces of *Africa*; *Octavianus* had *Dalmatia*; the two *Gauls*,

[a] Strabo lib. 14.

[b] Plutarch in Antonio. Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. 5. Dio Cass. lib. 48.

Spain and *Sardinia*, and *Anthony* all the eastern Provinces beyond the *Adriatic*: *Octavianus* was to carry on the War against *Sextus Pompeius*, who had seized upon *Sicily*; and to *Anthony* was committed the Charge of the *Parthian* War.

Ær. Arsac. 218. [a]For this Purpose he sent *Ventidius* his Lieutenant into the East; and he came with that Expedition that he surprized *Labienus*, who then had none of the *Parthian* Forces with him, but only a rude Multitude, made up of *Roman* Deserters, and some undisciplin'd *Asiatic* Troops, that he had got together since he passed the *Euphrates*. *Labienus* soon found himself unable to look the *Romans* in the Face, and immediately fled; but *Ventidius* followed him with his light harnessed Soldiers, and overtaking him at Mount *Taurus*, would suffer him to go no farther. *Labienus*, by the Advantage of the Mountains, encamped in a secure Place, so that he could not be forced to a Battel, and dispatched Messengers to *Pacorus* for Assistance. An Army of *Parthians* was soon sent to relieve him; and despising the *Romans*, whom they had so often subdued, they ventured to engage before *Labienus* had joined them; but the *Parthians* were overthrown with a terrible Slaughter, and most of them cut in pieces. The Troops with *Labienus*, terrified with this Defeat, deserted their General, and fled; many of them were destroyed by the *Romans*, and some that escaped were spared by *Ventidius*, and listed among his own Forces. *Labienus* having changed his Dress, fled; and having lain for some time undiscovered in *Cilicia*, he was at last taken by *Demetrius*, a Freed-man of *Julius*

[a] Dio Cass. lib. 48. Plut. in Antonio.

Cæsar's,

Cæsar's, whom *Anthony* had made Governor of *Cyprus*, and put to Death.

[a] By this Victory *Cilicia* was recovered to the *Romans*; and *Ventidius* having sent before him *Upedius Silo* with a Body of Horse to the Mountain *Amanus*, which parts *Syria* from *Cilicia*, *Silo* could by no means get Master of the Garison that was placed in those Straits, for it was covered by an Army of *Parthians*, under the Command of *Pharnapates*, one of *Pacorus's* Lieutenants, who had utterly routed the *Roman* Horse, had not *Ventidius* by good Fortune arrived, who found them engaging; but the Fortune of the Battel was soon changed; the *Parthian* General was slain, and the whole Army overthrown. By this Success the Way was open into *Syria*; and *Pacorus* calling about him the Remains of his scattered Forces, retired with all Expedition over the *Euphrates*, leaving the Province and all his Conquests on this side the River to the *Romans*. The Inhabitants of the Island *Aradus* despairing of Pardon, for killing the Collectors of the Taxes, stood out for some time, but they were soon reduced by force of Arms.

[b] *Anthony* was all this time at *Athens*, passing the Winter with his new Wife *Octavia*; and receiving from *Ventidius* an account of his Success over the *Parthians*, he ordered a publick Feast to be celebrated all over *Greece*. He commanded Prizes to be fought at *Athens*, and chose to be Moderator himself; and leaving at Home the Imperial Ensigns that are carried before the General, he made his Procession in a long Gown

[a] Iid. ibid.
[b] Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. 5. Plut. ibid.

and Slippers, with the Wands marching before, which were uſed by the Judges in ſuch Solemnities. [a] The News of the *Roman* Victories in *Syria* was ſoon brought to *Rome*, which advanced the Character of *Anthony*, inſomuch, that publick Proceſſions were ordered in his Name: But the Senate took no Notice of *Ventidius*, nor decreed him any Reward, becauſe he was not properly General, but managed the War under another's Authority.

[b] The *Parthian* King, no way diſcouraged by his Loſſes, reſolved very early in the Spring to paſs the *Euphrates* with the Flower of his Troops, and by another Expedition into *Syria*, take full Revenge upon the *Romans*. For this Purpoſe he raiſed a formidable Army, and gave the Command to his Son *Pacorus*. [c] *Ventidius* hearing of theſe Deſigns was afraid, leſt they ſhould paſs the *Euphrates* before he could get his Army together, and therefore was forced to make uſe of this Stratagem to prevent it. He had in his Camp one *Pharnens* a petty Prince in a Country of *Syria Cyrrheſtica*, under the Name of an Ally, whom he new to correſpond with the Enemy, and diſcover all his Deſigns to the *Parthians*. The Perfidiouſneſs of this Barbarian he turned to his own Advantage; for taking the firſt Opportunity to diſcourſe with him, and ſeeming to truſt him with all his Secrets, he pretended to be much concerned at what he had heard, that the *Parthians* did not deſign in this Expedition to paſs their Army over the *Euphrates* at the City *Zeugma*, as they uſed to do, but to invade the Pro-

ÆR. ARSAC. 219.

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 48. [b] Ibid. lib. 49.
[c] Julius Frontin. Stratagem. lib. 1. c. 1.

vince

vince of *Syria*, by a Paſſage lower upon the River: [a] For, ſaid he, if they paſs at *Zeugma*, the Country on this ſide the *Euphrates* is mountainous, where the *Parthian* Horſe, the chief Strength of their Army, will be of ſmall Service; but if they paſs below, the Country is all a Plain, and their Horſe muſt do full Execution. [b] The Traitor, as *Ventidius* foreſaw, immediately ſent away a particular Account of this Conference to the *Parthians*, and anſwered the Deſign of the *Roman* General; for *Pacorus* upon this Intelligence altering his March, left the Road to *Zeugma*, and took the Paſſage lower on the River, as *Ventidius* hoped he would, which employed the Time of forty Days, and gave the *Roman* General the Opportunity of collecting all his Forces. [c] His Legions arrived from beyond *Taurus*, where they had been quartered; and he ſent to *Silo* out of *Judæa*, commanding him to bring *Herod* with him, and the reſt of the Auxiliaries out of that Province. *Silo* came with a Body of Troops, but *Herod* was forced to employ his Army againſt a Gang of Robbers that infeſted his Country; and with theſe Reinforcements *Ventidius* was ready to receive the *Parthians*, as ſoon as they ſet a Foot in *Syria*.

[d] *Pacorus* marched his Army over the *Euphrates* by a Bridge of Boats, which with great Difficulty he faſtened to the Banks, that were very wide at this lower Paſſage. The *Romans* ſuffered them to paſs without Diſturbance, which gave the *Parthians* ſuch an Aſſurance of

[a] Vell. Paterculus, lib. 2. c. 78. [b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 49.
[c] Joſeph de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. c. 12.
[d] Florus lib. 4. c. 9. Dio Caſſ. lib. 49. Juſtin lib. 42.

Victory,

Victory, that they upbraided the *Romans* with Cowardice and Effeminacy, whilſt *Ventidius*, with a diſſembled Fear, lay quiet for ſome time, and allowed them to inſult: But taking his Opportunity, he ſent a part of his Legions againſt them, as they were ſecure and diſordered, which made ſuch an Impreſſion, that the *Parthians* gave way, and were routed. When *Pacorus* ſaw his Men flying, he ſuppoſed that all the Legions had been drawn out and were purſuing them, and ſo ſet upon the *Roman* Camp; but *Ventidius* had encamped upon a Hill, and upon the Attack of the *Parthian* Horſe, he eaſily tumbled them down the Precipice, and a general Overthrow followed, in which many *Parthian* Officers, armed at all Points, after they had fought ſtoutly, fell; and *Pacorus* behaving himſelf valiantly was ſlain. *Ventidius* made a terrible Slaughter of the *Parthian* Horſe as they fled, between the River *Orontes* and the *Euphrates*, and there fell of them above twenty thouſand; ſome endeavoured to eſcape over the Bridge, but were prevented and ſlain; others fled to *Commagena* to King *Antiochus*. This Battel was fought in *Syria Cyrrheſtica*, and *Pacorus* was killed the ſame Day of the Year, in which fourteen Years before his Father *Orodes* had killed *Craſſus*, by his Captain *Surena*. [a] By this Victory the *Romans* took full Satisfaction for the Victory obtained over *Craſſus*, and confined the *Parthians* within *Media* and *Meſopotamia*. *Ventidius*, unwilling to puſh his good Fortune any farther, for fear of raiſing the Jealouſy of *Anthony*, left

[a] Oroſ. lib. 6. c. 18. Appian in Parthic. Plut. in Antonio. Dio lib. 49.

off

off the Purſuit, and turning his Arms againſt thoſe that had quitted the *Roman* Intereſt, he reduced them to their former Obedience. [a] The Province of *Syria* were chiefly in the Intereſt of the *Parthians*; for *Pacorus*, by his ſhort Adminiſtration in thoſe Parts, had ſo recommended himſelf, that they wonderfully eſteemed him for the Clemency and Moderation of his Government; for he was a Prince of excellent Hopes, and many royal Accompliſhments, and had nothing of that Cruelty in his Nature as generally appeared in the Line of *Arſaces*, and therefore they lamented his Loſs with the utmoſt Sorrow and Concern. *Ventidius* had cut off the Head of *Pacorus*, and carrying it with him, he expoſed it to all the Cities that had revolted in *Syria*, and recovered them to the *Roman* Intereſt, without ſtriking a Stroke. The News of this Victory coming to *Rome*, Proceſſions and a Triumph were decreed to *Anthony*, but he never triumphed; and the ſame Honours were decreed to *Ventidius*, for retrieving the Dignity of the *Roman* Army, that ſince the Overthrow of *Craſſus* had been ſo often inſulted by the Barbarians. Upon the Account of this Victory *Anthony* coined Money, his Effigies on one ſide, with this Inſcription, *Imp. Ant. Augur. III. Vir. R. P. C.* on the reverſe a triumphal Car, drawn by two Horſes, guided by an Image of Victory; at the Bottom was *P. Ventid. P. F. Procos.*

[b] The Senate having decreed to *Anthony* the Charge of the *Parthian* War he came into *Syria*, and giving *Ventidius* all thoſe Teſtimonies of his Eſteem his Services had merited, he ſent

[a] Florus lib. 4. cap. 9. [b] Dio ibid.

him

him to *Rome* to receive the Honour of a Triumph; and he was the only *Roman* that then had triumphed over the *Parthians*. Had he not been afraid of the Envy of *Anthony*, and had he purſued all the Advantages of his laſt Victory, he might eaſily have driven the *Parthians* out of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylonia*, and extended the *Roman* Empire to the Banks of the *Tigris*, if not beyond them.

[a] *Orodes*, who had ſome time before received the News that *Syria* was over-ran by his victorious Arms, that *Aſia* had ſubmitted to the *Parthian* Yoke, and gloried that his Son *Pacorus* was a Conqueror of the *Romans*, being on a ſudden informed of the Death of his Son, and the Deſtruction of his whole Army, for very Grief run mad; for many Days he would ſpeak to no Body, nor take any Support, nor ſay a Word, as if he had been ſtruck Dumb. After many Days, when Grief had opened the Paſſage of his Voice, he did nothing but call upon *Pacorus*; he ſeemed to ſee and talk with him, and then recollecting that he was loſt, he would cry out and lament his Loſs with Showers of Tears. The old King, when he had in ſome meaſure recovered himſelf out of the Trouble for the Misfortune of his Son, had as great a Concern upon him to determine which of his thirty Sons he ſhould ſettle the Crown upon in his Life-time. He had many Wives, who bore him ſo many Children, and every one preſſed hard upon him, and was importunate that the Succeſſion might be ſettled upon her Son; but (ſays the Hiſtorian) the Fate of *Parthia* did ſo ordain it (it being there a ſo-

[a] Juſtin lib. 42.

lemn

lemn Cuſtom for Kings to be Parricides) that the eldeſt and moſt wicked of them all, *Phrahates*, was appointed King. So ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of the regal Power, he diſcovered the Ferity and Jealouſy of his Diſpoſition; for he put to Death thoſe of his Brothers, which were born to his Father of a Daughter of *Antiochus* King of *Commagena*, for no other Reaſon, but that they were by their Mother of a more noble Deſcent, and otherwiſe of greater Merit than himſelf; and finding that the old King abhorred his Cruelty, and might poſſibly revenge it, he attempted to put an end to his Father's Life by Poiſon, after he had reigned alone about ſeventeen, but from the Death of his Father *Mithridates* about two and twenty Years. The manner of his Death is thus related by [a] *Appian*, who ſpeaking of the Fall of *Craſſus*, gives this Account. Thus the Expedition of *Craſſus* ended in a Tragedy; however, *Orodes* received ſoon after a Puniſhment equal to his Cruelty, as *Surena* did firſt, what his ſo many violated Oaths deſerved; for the King ſoon after diſpatched him out of the Envy he bore to his Glory. As for *Orodes*, being fallen ſick of the Dropſy, after that his Son *Pacorus* had been ſlain in Fight againſt the *Romans*, *Phrahates* his ſecond Son gave him Aconite; the Poiſon working only upon the Diſeaſe, and carrying away the dropſical Matter with it, the King began to recover on the ſudden, ſo that *Phrahates* would no more truſt to Poiſon, but found himſelf obliged to take the ſhorteſt Courſe, and ſtifled him with his Pillow.

[a] In Parthic. [b] Plut. in Craſſo.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Phrahates IV.

Ær. Ar-ſac. 219. PHRAHATES [a] having taken Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, by the Murder of his Father, began his Reign by drawing the Blood of his Nobles, many of whom he put to Death by extreme Tortures, and others he forced to fly and apply for Refuge to foreign Princes; and to ſhew the Extent of his Barbarity, leſt his People ſhould attempt to dethrone him for his Cruelties, and place a Son of his in the Throne that was grown a Man, he ordered him to be ſlain.

[b] But notwithſtanding his ſavage Executions upon his own Subjects, he courteouſly enter-

[a] Juſtin lib. 42. [b] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 15. c. 2.

tained *Hircanus* the captive King of *Judæa*, whom at his Acceſſion he found a Priſoner; for being informed of his Birth and Character, he had ſo great a Reſpect for his illuſtrious Blood and Quality, that he immediately ordered his Chains to be taken off, and allowed him the Freedom of the City of *Babylon* for the Bounds of his Confinement; a Place where there were many of his own Sect, and where he had the ſame Reverence paid him, not only by the *Jews* of the City, but by thoſe likewiſe on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*, as if he had been their Governor and High Prieſt. But the Paſſion of *Hircanus* for his native Country was ſo great, that againſt the Advice of all his Friends he reſolved to leave *Babylon*, and refer himſelf to the diſpoſal of *Herod*, who was then poſſeſſed of the Government, and whoſe Life he had formerly ſaved, when he was accuſed before the Sanhedrim. *Herod* gave *Hircanus* alſo an Invitation by Letter to come over to him, and take his part in the Government, deſiring him likewiſe to ſollicite the *Parthian* King, and his Brethren the *Jews* not to envy him the Comfort of ſo great a Bleſſing; for now was the Time, he ſaid, to ſhew his Gratitude to the Perſon he was indebted to, both for his good Fortune and for his Life. Beſides this, he ſent *Saramalla* upon an Embaſſy to *Phrahates*, with fair Words and magnificent Preſents, to ſweeten him on the Behalf of *Hircanus*, his worthy Patron and dear Friend. But this was all Hipocriſy and Deſign; for *Herod* being a crafty and ſuſpicious Prince, and an Uſurper, his Buſineſs was to ſecure himſelf againſt all poſſible Changes and Turns of State, and upon that Conſideration, either to get

Hircanus

Hircanus into his Power, or out of the World, as afterwards he did; for *Hircanus* was dismissed honourably by the *Parthian* King, and returning to *Jerusalem*, *Herod* found an Opportunity to put him to death.

[a] Among the Exiles that voluntarily left their Country to avoid the Cruelty of the *Parthian* King was one *Monæses*, a Man of Power and Esteem, who took Refuge in *Syria*, under the Protection of *Anthony*, and soon insinuates so far into the Affection of the *Roman* General, that he had the carrying on of the War committed to him; and indeed he was one of the Occasions of it. He was consulted and advised with upon all Debates; and *Anthony* received from him such Assurance of Victory, that he had over-run the Kingdom of *Parthia* in his Imaginations, and promised him the Crown upon the Conquest of the Country; he looked upon this noble Man in the Circumstances of *Themistocles*, and equalling himself in Riches and Maintenance with the *Persian* Kings, he gave him the Revenues of three Cities, *Larissa*, *Arethusa* and *Hierapolis*, formerly called *Bambice*, for his Maintenance. But the People of *Parthia* resented the Flight of *Monæses* to the *Romans*; and *Phrahates* fearing the Consequences that might follow, if a Person of so much Experience and Abilities continued with the Enemy, sent Messengers to him to settle a Reconciliation, and prevail with him to return, giving him his Word and Honour for his Safety. [b] *Anthony* was much concerned to part with his *Parthian* Guest, for he had formed all

[a] Arrian in Parthic. Plutarch in Antonio.
[b] Dio Cass. lib. 49.

his

his Schemes for the War by his Direction, and yet was unwilling to put him to Death when he had him in his Power, leſt he ſhould offend the Barbarians, and prevent their accepting of his Friendſhip, and ſo civilly diſmiſſed him, as if he had had a mind to make uſe of him in treating of a Peace with the *Parthians*. He ſent Ambaſſadors with him to treat with *Phrahates*, and offer him Peace, if he would reſtore the Enſigns taken at the Overthrow of *Craſſus*, and the Captives that were then living, in hopes by amuſing him to divert him from making Preparations for War, and ſo he might deſtroy him without Reſiſtance: But this Policy fell miſerably ſhort in the Event.

[a] And now *Anthony* having ſent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, marches through *Arabia* into *Armenia*, where he had appointed the general Rendevouz of his own Forces, and thoſe the auxiliary Kings were to bring in; for there were many Friends and Allies of the *Romans*, of whom *Artabaſus* King of *Armenia*, the moſt conſiderable, furniſhed him with ſixteen thouſand Horſe, and ſeven thouſand Foot; ſo that at the Muſter taken when his Army was drawn together, the *Roman* and *Italian* Foot amounted to ſixty thouſand Men, the *Spaniſh* and *Gaul* Horſe to ten thouſand, and the auxiliary Forces to thirty thouſand, counting the Horſe and Foot that were light armed; thus *Plutarch*; but [b] *Paterculus* allows *Anthony* thirteen Legions, *Florus* ſixteen, and *Juſtin* and *Livy* eighteen Legions, and ſixteen thouſand Horſe. But

ÆR. ARSAC. 220.

[a] Appian Plut. ibid.

[b] Paterc. lib. 2. c. 82. Florus lib. 4. c. 10. Juſt. lib. 42. Liv. lib. 130.

all this great Preparation, and all these Forces, that struck a Terror into the *Bactrians*, and remotest *Indians* proved useless, by means of *Cleopatra* only; for *Anthony*, that he might the sooner see her, began the War, without staying for a Season proper for the Execution of his Designs, and was so infatuated and so desperately in Love with this Woman, that he thought not so much of conquering, as returning speedily to her.

[a] The first Design of *Anthony* was to invade *Parthia* by the nearest cut over the *Euphrates*, expecting no Opposition to dispute his Passage; but coming near the River he found all the Passes so strongly guarded on the other side, that he durst not attempt to lead over his Army; so that being persuaded by *Artabasus* the *Armenian* King, he passed Mount *Taurus* into *Armenia*, with a Design first to fall upon the *Medians*, whose King *Artavasdes* was gone to assist *Phrahates*, and from thence to fall upon the *Parthians*. This Expedition was wholly owing to *Artabasus*, who had quarrelled with the *Median* King, and had he proved faithful to the *Romans*, it might have had its full Effect; but [b] being admitted for a Guide to the Army, instead of conducting them the right Way, which from *Zeugma* on the *Euphrates* (the Place from whence *Anthony* first set out upon this northern March) to the River *Araxis*, that parted *Media* from *Armenia*, was about five hundred Miles; he led him over Mountains and difficult Passes, and by Ways so far about, that he made his March of double the Length, before he arrived on the Borders of *Media*, at the

[a] Dio Cass. lib. 49. [b] Strabo lib. 11.

Place intended for beginning the War; by which Means his Army was not only fatigued, but ſo much of the Year ſpent, that he had not time ſufficient to execute his Deſigns. If what [a] *Cicero* relates be true, the *Romans* had ſmall Reaſon to place any Confidence in *Artabaſus*; for his Siſter, he ſays, was married to *Pacorus*, the Son of *Orodes* the late King. And whereas *Anthony* ought to have wintered his Army in *Armenia*, the better to refreſh it, tired as it was with a march of a thouſand Miles, and in the Spring to have fallen into *Media*, before the *Parthians* were in the Field, he could not bear this Delay, but ſetting forward with his Troops, and leaving *Armenia* on the left Hand, and entring into *Atropacena* ſpoiled that whole Country; [b] beſides having in his Train three hundred Waggons for military Stores and Engines, among which there was one Ram of ſeventy Foot long, which could by no means be repaired, if once it were broken, becauſe in thoſe Countries no Materials were to be found, there neither growing any Trees long enough, nor Wood hard enough, to the end that he might march the ſwifter, he left behind all theſe Carriages, under the Guard of *Statianus* his Lieutenant, with ten thouſand Men: Then he advanced by long Marches to *Phraata* the Capital of *Media*, which was ſituated three hundred Miles from the River *Araxis*, in which was the Wife and Children of the *Median* King. Here he was ſoon ſenſible what an Error he had committed by leaving thoſe Engines behind, yet he at-

[a] Ad Fam. x. Lib. 15. Ep. 3.
[b] Appian in Parthic. Plutarch in Antonio.

tempted to take the City, by raiſing Taraſſes againſt the Walls; but this was a Work of Labour and advanced but ſlowly.

[a] In the mean time the *Parthian* King took the Field with a powerful Army to advance againſt the *Romans*; who underſtanding that they had left behind the Waggons and Engines, he ſent a great Body of Horſe, who cut in pieces *Statianus*, and the ten thouſand Foot that he commanded; and after having taken the Engines they were broken to pieces, a great Number of others were ſlain, and many Priſoners taken, among whom was *Polemon* King of *Pontus*, an Ally of the *Romans*, who paying a great Ranſom was diſcharged. This Misfortune diſcouraged, and not without Reaſon, thoſe who had engaged in *Anthony*'s Party, diſmayed at ſo mournful a beginning; ſo that *Artabaſus* King of *Armenia*, who had been the principal Cauſe of the War, giving over the Hopes he had conceived of the *Romans*, retired with his Army into his own Country, which ruined the Succeſs of this Expedition. *Anthony* had ſome Notice of the Diſtreſs of *Statianus*, and advanced to his Relief, but he came too late, for he found them all dead upon the Field of Battel; and though he was aſtoniſhed at this Overthrow, yet becauſe none of the Barbarians oppoſed him, he thought they had retired for fear of him, and therefore he took Courage; but he ſoon met with them, and by the Help of his Slingers, whoſe Darts went farther than the Enemies Arrows, he defeated them, but by the Swiftneſs of the *Parthian* Horſe he did no great Execution.

[a] Appian, ibid. Dio Caſſ. lib. 49. Paterculus l. 2. c. 82. Plutarch in Antonio.

[a] The

[a]The Siege of *Phraata* was carried on by the *Romans* without any Diſadvantage to the Enemy, for they were frequently repulſed by the Gariſon within, and attacked by the *Parthians* without, who had a good Army to relieve the Beſieged; and not only fell upon the *Romans* with Succeſs, but threatened them with very reproachful Expreſſions, and inſulted them. *Anthony*, that he might not let the Courage of his Men cool in the Idleneſs of a Siege, took with him ten Legions, three Pretorian Cohorts, and all his Cavalry, in order to forage, hoping the Enemy would offer to oppoſe him, and ſo he might have an Opportunity to fight. After the firſt Day's march the *Parthians* appeared, and ſeeing that they began to enlarge their Battel round about the *Roman* Camp, with a Deſign to cut off his Way of Return, he commanded to ſound a March, and to pack up the Tents, as if he were preparing to decamp, and not to fight; which done, he cauſed his Army to march before the Enemies, in form of a Creſcent, with Orders to the Cavalry to charge as ſoon as the Vanguard was advanced, that ſo the Legions at the ſame time might come to the Charge. The *Parthians* in the mean time admired the excellent Order of the *Roman* Army, ſeeing the Soldiers paſs along, keeping their Ranks, and brandiſhing their Piles, without making the leaſt Noiſe: But as ſoon as the Signal was given, and the firſt Shout made, the *Roman* Horſe preſſed forward to charge the *Parthians*, and came in ſo cloſe to them, that they could no more make uſe of their Arrows: Yet they

[a] Plutarch, Appian, ibid.

ſtood their Ground for ſome time, and the legionary Soldiers running in with their Shouts, and the Noiſe of their Bucklers ſo horribly affrighted the Horſes of the Enemy, that they turned Tail without ſtriking a Blow. *Anthony* hoping that this Battel would end the War, or at leaſt give a good Stroke towards Victory, purſued them hard; but when the Infantry had driven them before them above ſix Miles, and the Horſe had followed them thrice as far, and that they found but thirty Priſoners, and not above fourſcore ſlain, their Courages fell at the Conſideration of how few they had deſtroyed in this Victory, in Compariſon of the Numbers they had loſt at the Defence of the Carriages.

Next Morning the *Romans* advanced to go and force the *Parthian* Camp, but meeting in their March at firſt with a few *Parthians*, after that with a greater Number, and at laſt with the whole Army, who, as if they had not been beaten the Day before, came to the Charge, and aſſailed them on all ſides, they with much Pains and Difficulty recovered their Camp, where the *Medes*, whom they beſieged, having ſtormed the Paliſado, and driven off thoſe that defended it, *Anthony* fell into ſuch a Paſſion, that he decimated all thoſe that had quitted their Poſts; he drew them off by Decuries or Tens, and making them draw Lots, condemned the unfortunate to Death, and gave Barley Bread to the reſt; and to add to the Misfortune, his Foragers, when Proviſion lay at a great Diſtance, were cut off by the Enemy; and if he ſent out a great Number of [a] Soldiers for that

[a] Dio lib. 94.

Purpoſe,

Purpoſe, the Beſiegers that remained were expoſed to the Sallies of the Barbarians; many *Romans* were killed, and many Engines were deſtroyed, ſo that *Anthony* and his Men were as it were beſieged as he lay before the Town; for the Inhabitants made deſperate Sallies; and the *Parthians* without, by ſudden Incurſions and quick Retreats, killed a Number of his Men, particularly the Foragers, as they were ſcattered in their return to the Camp.

[a] The War was now become grievous to both Parties, for *Anthony* could no longer ſend abroad a Foraging without having ſome of his People ſlain or wounded; and *Phrahates*, who knew well that the *Parthians* would rather endure any thing than to keep the Field all Winter out of their own Country, was afraid, leſt if the *Romans* continued the War, his People would forſake him; the Air already growing cold, by Reaſon of the autumnal Equinox. He therefore made uſe of this Artifice; ſome *Parthians*, known to the *Romans*, meeting them Foraging, treated them kindly, letting them go away with their Burdens, and praiſing their Valour, which their King himſelf admired, and that with Reaſon, for indeed they were the moſt valiant People in the World; and then by Degrees drawing nearer they blamed *Anthony*, that he would not make Peace with the King, and ſpare the Lives of ſo brave an Army, whom he only ſuffered to loſe Time, and without giving them Opportunity of Fighting, made them wait for two cruel Enemies, Famine and Winter, and that in ſuch Places as their March would be difficult, though the

[a] Plutarch. Dio Caſſ. ibid. Appian. ibid.

Parthians themſelves were their Guides. This being ſeveral times repeated to *Anthony*, he began to be more tractable; yet he would not ſend to the *Parthian*, till he had cauſed Enquiry to be made of theſe honeſt Barbarians, whether it were by their King's Order they had ſpoke to the *Roman* Soldiers, who aſſuring it was, he diſpatched ſome of his Friends to the King, to demand the Standards and Priſoners that were yet remaining in his Hands, ſince the Defeat of *Craſſus*, leſt if he ſhould ask nothing, he might be ſuppoſed to be too overjoyed with Leave to retreat. Theſe Embaſſadors had Audience of the *Parthian* King ſitting upon a gilt Throne, and having heard their Meſſage, he twanged his Bowſtring, and delivered many ſevere Reflections againſt the *Romans*; at laſt he told them he would not trouble himſelf to talk of the Enſigns, but if *Anthony* thought fit to depart, he might do it in Peace and Safety.

Some few Days therefore being ſpent in truſſing up the Baggage, *Anthony* reſolved upon his March, leaving the Works that he had raiſed againſt the Town undiſmantled, as if he were in a Friend's Country, which were inſultingly burnt and deſtroyed by the *Medians*. And now it was that *Anthony*, the fitteſt Man in the World to harangue an Army, the moſt eloquent in all Aſſemblies, whether Civil or Military, finding himſelf oppreſſed with Shame and Grief, could not ſpeak to his Soldiers himſelf, but gave Commiſſion to *Domitius Ænobarbus* to take his Place, and exhort his Army to be couragious: Many of the Soldiers reſented it, as an undervaluing of them, but the better Sort ſaw the true Cauſe,

[a] Plutarch, ibid. Dio Caſſ. ibid. Appian, ibid.

and

and thought that upon this Occaſion they ought to treat their General with more than ordinary Reſpect. *Anthony* deſigned to return the Way he came through the naked Deſarts, but he was fortunately prevented by a certain *Mardian* who came to him, of whoſe Courage and Fidelity the *Romans* had Trial in the Fight for the Defence of the Engines, and who knew the manner of the *Parthians* living. This Perſon adviſed him to march by the Foot of the Mountains which lay on the right Hand, and not to expoſe his Soldiers, loaden with Arms, to ſuch infinite Numbers of Archers on Horſeback, in Plains ſo vaſt and without Covert; for he told him *Phrahates* was the moſt impious Monſter of his Time; and had no other Deſign but to fall upon him, when by fair Words he had made him leave his Trenches; and therefore he offered himſelf both to lead them a ſhorter Way, and where they ſhould find Abundance of what was neceſſary for the Soldiers. *Anthony* propoſed this in a Council of War, not ſeeming to diſtruſt the Peace or the Fidelity of the *Parthians*: He told his Officers he ſhould be well ſatisfied to take a ſhorter Way, where they ſhould find good Villages, and that nothing elſe was to be done but to take good Security of the *Mardian*: He of himſelf deſired he might be bound till they had reached *Armenia*, and thus bound put himſelf at the Head of the Army, and led them two Days without any Harm.

[a] But on the third Day, whilſt *Anthony* thought of nothing leſs than the *Parthians*, and the Army marched without ſtanding on

[a] Ibid.

their

their Guard, the *Mardian* obſerving the Bank of a River newly broken, and the Way by which they were to paſs full of Water, he judged the *Parthians* had done it to ſtop the *Romans*, by making difficult the Paſſage, and ſhewing it to *Anthony*, adviſed him to prepare to receive the Enemy. The *Roman* General preſently marſhalled his Army, leaving between the Ranks Spaces for the Darters and Slingers to make their Diſcharges. At the ſame time the *Parthians* appeared, perſuading themſelves they ſhould now ſurround the Army, and defeat them; but the light-armed Foot drawing off to receive them, charged them ſo briskly, that after many Wounds given and taken they retreated; yet for ſeveral Times they renewed the Skirmiſh, till the *Gallic* Horſe marched againſt them in a Body, and treated them ſo ſeverely, that the Remainder of that Day they durſt attempt them no more. *Anthony* by this perfidious Aſſault knowing what he had to do, made the Army march in Battalia with four Fronts, lining not only the Rear, but likewiſe the Flanks with Slingers and Darters, and giving Orders to the Horſe to repulſe the Enemy if they came to attack them, but not to purſue them in Chaſe too far; ſo that the *Parthians* having thus followed them four Days with equal Loſs began to give it over, and making the Reaſon of their Departure to be the approaching Winter, diſpoſed themſelves on the morrow to leave off the Purſuit.

[a] On the fifth Day *Flavius Gallus*, a brave Officer, who had a conſiderable Command in the Army came to *Anthony*, deſiring of him ſome Troops of light Horſe out of the Rear,

[a] Plut. App. ibid.

and

and ſome other Horſe out of the Front, with which he would undertake to do ſome conſiderable Service. Having obtained his Deſire, he ſet himſelf to repel the Enemy that came to skirmiſh; not as before, retreating to the main Body as ſoon as he had made them give Ground, but charging them Home, and obſtinately maintaining the Fight; which being obſerved by thoſe who commanded the Rear of this Detachment, they called him back, leſt being divided from the Army the Enemy might ſurround him: It is ſaid farther, that *Titius* the Quæſtor ſnatched up the Colours and retreated, reproving him for leading ſo many brave Men to certain Deſtruction; he on the other ſide reviling him again, and commanding the Men that were about him to ſtand firm, *Titius* made his Retreat; but *Gallus* charging the Enemies in the Front was encompaſſed by a Party that fell upon his Rear, and being oppreſſed on all ſides with Showers of Arrows, he was obliged to ſend for Help; and here the Colonels of the Legions, and among the reſt *Cænidius*, who had a great Power over *Anthony*, ſeemed to have committed a great Fault: For whereas they ought to have marched with all their Force thither, they ſent only ſome few Cohorts, and as thoſe were defeated they detached others, not obſerving that by this Means the whole Army would by little and little be put to the Rout; and had been ſo, if *Anthony* himſelf had not ſpeedily made in with all the Vanguard; but now the third Legion advancing through thoſe that fled, ſtood the Shock of the Enemy, and ſtopped them from paſſing farther. There were no leſs than three thouſand Men ſlain in this Engagement, and

and five thouſand brought off wounded, among whom was *Gallus* thruſt through and through with four Arrows, of which he died not long after. *Anthony* went from Tent to Tent to viſit the Wounded, and wept out of Grief and Compaſſion; but they rejoicing to ſee him, took him by the Hand, and prayed him to take care of his own Health. They called him their Emperor, and told him their Wounds were all healed whilſt they ſaw him well: And indeed there appears not in all that Age to have been any General that had an Army ſo vigorous, ſo brave and ſo patient; and if we have Regard to the Reſpect and Obedience they bore him, as well Great as Small, Officers and Soldiers, and the high Account they made of his Favour, preferring it before their own Safety or their very Lives, certainly this General yielded to none of the antient *Romans*, and his Army obeyed him for many excellent Motives; for his Nobleneſs, his Eloquence, his Uprightneſs, his Liberality, both frequent and great, and for the Sweetneſs of his familiar Converſation; but above all, for his Tenderneſs and Compaſſion for the Afflicted; and the Care he took to ſee them furniſhed with all Things neceſſary, made the poor Wretches that were ſick and miſerable as heartily diſpoſed to ſerve him, as thoſe that enjoyed their Health and Vigour.

[a] This Victory had ſo raiſed the Enemies Hearts, before almoſt tired and deſpairing, that they paſſed that Night near the Camp, in Hopes e're long to be plundering the Baggage, and to find the Tents deſerted. *Anthony* this Night received Intelligence of the Deſign of the *Parthians*, by a certain *Roman*, whoſe Life

[a] Ibid. [b] Florus lib. 4. c. 10. Patercul. lib. 2. c. 82.

was

was ſpared in the Overthrow of *Craſſus*, who came in a *Parthian* Habit to the *Roman* Trenches, and ſaluting them in *Latin*, after he had got Credit to be believed, he informed them what Danger they were in; for the King was advancing with all his Forces, and adviſed them not to march the Way they intended, but to go back again, and retreat by the Woods and Mountains where the *Parthian* Horſe would be of leſs Uſe, not that he would promiſe them that they ſhould not meet with the Enemy that Way alſo. On the morrow the *Parthians* appeared in far greater Numbers, for they could not be leſs than forty thouſand Horſe; the King having ſent the Guards that attended upon his Perſon as to an aſſured Victory; as for himſelf he never came into the Field. In the mean time *Anthony* deſigning to harangue his Soldiers, would have appeared in a mourning Habit to move the more Campaſſion, but his Friends diſſuading him he came to the Aſſembly in his military Veſt: He praiſed thoſe that had behaved themſelves well, and declaimed againſt ſuch as fled; of whom the firſt deſired him to be of good Courage, and the laſt having given Reaſons for this Flight, offered themſelves to be decimated, or to be puniſhed as he pleaſed, ſo that he would forbear to afflict himſelf, or to look ill upon them. Upon this, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, he beſought the Gods, that if any Divinity were jealous of his paſt Happineſs, he would let all the Miſeries with which he was threatened deſcend upon his own Head, and give Victory to the reſt of the Army.

[a] The next Day they ſet forward again in bet-

[a] Florus ibid. Dio Caſſ. lib. 49. Plut. Appian ibid.

ter

ter Order, ſo that the *Parthians* began to be out of Hopes, for they thought they came to pillage and plunder, and not to fight; but finding themſelves ſtiffly beat back by the *Roman* Piles, which the Soldiers now diſcharged with wonderful Alacrity, they once again were forced to give Ground: Yet they ſtill followed the *Roman* Army, and one Day as they galled them with their Arrows whilſt they were deſcending a little Hill, the Targetiers faced about, and when they had received the light-armed Foot into their Ranks, ſet their Knees to the Ground, and ranging their Bucklers one above another, formed a *Teſtudo*, where the Bucklers riſing by Degrees, reſembled in ſome meaſure the Seats of a Theatre; and indeed this was an excellent Rampire againſt the Arrows, for they ſlid away on both ſides the Teſtudo. The *Parthians* obſerving them in this Poſture, believed that their Wounds hindered them from fighting, and immediately diſmounting, they threw away their Bows, and ran with Sword in Hand to diſpatch them at once: But the *Romans* riſing at a certain Signal, and ſpreading their Ranks, fell furiouſly upon them. And (as *Dio* obſerves) as there was no Equality between an Army that was waiting for the Combat, and another that was unprepared for it; between Men that were well armed, and Troops that were not; between Soldiers covered with Steel, and naked Archers, and in a Word between *Romans* and Barbarians, they made a prodigious Deſtruction of the foremoſt, and put the reſt to flight. This ſurprizing Overthrow ſtruck ſuch an Amazement among the *Parthians*, that one of them cried out, *Go ye*, Romans, *and farewel; Fame, with good Reaſon,*

calls

calls you the Conquerors of Nations, ſince you can diſappoint the Force of the Parthian *Darts.* The [a] Hiſtorian giving an Account of this Overthrow, particularly deſcribes a *Teſtudo* in this manner. A Battalion in form of a *Tortoiſe* is thus compoſed: The Baggage, the light Troops and the Horſe are in the middle, while thoſe who are heavy armed and have the longeſt Bucklers place themſelves in the Wings, where they cover all the reſt like a ſort of Parapet. The others, whoſe Bucklers are rather broad than long, remaining cloſe in the middle, put them upon their Heads, and by that means cover themſelves with the whole Battalion, ſo that you can ſee nothing but Bucklers, which forms a Wall ſo ſtrong, becauſe they are very thick, that not only Men may run upon it, but even Horſes and Chariots paſs over it upon Occaſion, when they meet with any difficult Way. This Form of Battalion has obtained the Name of a *Tortoiſe*, from the great Force and Firmneſs of its Covering. They are uſed upon two ſeveral Occaſions; the firſt is to attack any Fortreſs, by lifting armed Men upon the Walls by this means; and the other is to defend themſelves from Arrows, by putting one Knee to the Ground, for the Horſes are alſo taught to kneel: Thus making the Enemy believe they are tired when they come in Confuſion to fall upon them, they riſe of a ſudden and put them into Diſorder.

[b] By this time Famine began to oppreſs the *Roman* Army, for the Soldiers being continually engaged could not range abroad for Proviſions; beſides, they wanted Mills, the greateſt

[a] Dio Caſſ. ibid.

[b] Plutarch, Appian, ibid.

Part

Part being left behind, either becauſe the Beaſts of Carriage were dead, or employed to carry the Sick and Wounded; ſo that it is ſaid a Buſhel of Wheat, *Athens* Meaſure, was ſold for fifty Drachms, and Barley Bread for its Weight in Silver; they were forced at laſt to eat Roots and Herbs, and becauſe they found but few that were known, they were forced to make Experiment of all they met with, and unhappily fell upon a Herb that cauſed Madneſs, and in the Concluſion proved mortal; for as ſoon as they had eaten of it they had loſt their Underſtanding and Memory, and fell to turning upſide down, and removing all the Stones they met with, believing they were at work upon ſome very ſerious Matter; ſo that all the Camp was filled with People, rooting up and removing Stones from one Place to another, who at laſt died by vomiting Choler. Wine was the Cure for this Diſtemper, but it was not to be had; ſo that it is ſaid that *Anthony* ſeeing ſo many of his People die, and the *Parthians* ſtill at his Heels, often cried out Ὦ μύριοι, *Oh the ten thouſand*; admiring thoſe ten thouſand Men, who under the Conduct of *Xenophon*, marched a much longer Way, making their Retreat from the Plains of *Babylon* to the Sea, without loſing ſo much as one Man, tho' in their own Way they were often attacked by a far greater Number of Enemies. The Famine[a] thus raging among the Soldiery they began to fly to the Enemy, but the *Parthians* ſlew the Runaways in the Face of the reſt of the Army; and it is ſuppoſed the greateſt part

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 5.

would

would have deſerted, if the Cruelty of the *Parthians* had not prevented the Revolt.

[a] The Enemy perceiving they could by no means hinder the *Romans* march, nor engage them to divide from one another, began again to talk civilly to thoſe they met with Foraging, and with their Bows unbent, told them, that now they might freely go; and indeed there appeared only ſome *Medes* who paſſed a Day or two's March farther, without committing any Act of Hoſtility, but only under Pretence to ſecure the Towns and Villages diſtant from the great Road. After theſe Civilities and fair Words the *Romans* began to revive. *Anthony* himſelf grew pleaſant, and had ſome Inclination for the Way of the Plain, becauſe it was told him there was greater Conveniency of Water than among the Mountains. This he reſolved upon, when one *Mithridates* a *Parthian*, Couſin to that *Monæſes* who had fled for Refuge to *Anthony* came to the Camp, and asked for any one that could talk with him, either in the *Syrian* or the *Parthian* Tongue. One *Alexander* a truſty Friend of the General's preſenting himſelf, the *Parthian*, after having told him that what he did was for *Monæſes*'s Sake, asked him if he ſaw far afore thoſe high Mountains that touched another. He making anſwer he ſaw them well. The *Parthians*, ſaid the other, lie there in Ambuſh with all their Forces (for this Plain extends it ſelf as far as thoſe Mountains) and there they expect you, not doubting but their fair Words will deceive you, and make you leave your Road to croſs the Plain: In the other Way

[a] Appian, Plut. ibid.

you have nothing to ſuffer but Labour and Thirſt, to which you are already accuſtomed; but if you engage in this, *Anthony* will ſcarce come better off than *Craſſus*. Thus ſaid, he departed. *Anthony* upon this Intelligence was afraid, and conferred with his Friends, and with the *Mardian*, whom he found of the ſame Judgment; for he knew that the Way of the Plain, though there were no Enemy to be feared, was hard to find, and had many difficult Paſſes, whilſt all the Inconvenience of the other was want of Water only for one Day's march. Reſolving therefore to take the Way of the Mountains, and to depart the ſame Night, Orders were given to the Soldiers to furniſh themſelves with Water, and becauſe the moſt part wanted Veſſels, they filled their Helmets, and made Bottles of Skins ſewed together. The *Parthians* no ſooner heard that the *Romans* were on their March, but they followed them, contrary to their Cuſtom, the ſame Night, and by break of Day they fell in with their Rear, tired as they were with Travel and want of Sleep, for that Night they had marched about thirty Miles, and at the end of their Journey found the Enemy at their Heels, which put them out of all Patience; beſides, their Thirſt encreaſed as they engaged, being forced to fight and march at the ſame time. In the mean time the Vanguard met with a River clear and cool, but whoſe ſalt and venomous Waters ulcerated, as ſoon as they were drunk, and provoked an intolerable Thirſt: The *Mardian* had given Notice to the Soldiers of it, but that could not hinder them. *Anthony* himſelf came amongſt them, and conjured them to have yet a little Patience; ſhewing them that they were not far

far from another River, where they might drink ſafely; that the Way forward was craggy and inacceſſible to Horſe, and therefore the Enemy muſt of Neceſſity retire; at the ſame time he cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded, that at leaſt the Soldiers might a little refreſh themſelves in the Shade.

[a] But the Tents were ſcarce ſet up, and the *Parthians* according to their Cuſtom retired, when *Mithridates* came up again, and *Alexander* meeting him, he adviſed *Anthony* to decamp, after the Army had ever ſo little refreſhed themſelves, and to paſs the other River with all poſſible Speed, for that was the Bounds of the *Parthians*, and they reſolved to purſue them no farther. Upon this Advice *Anthony* ordered a good Quantity of Gold to be preſented to *Mithridates*, of which he took as much as his Coat would cover. The reſt of this Day's march was without any Alarm, but the Night following was troubled by the *Romans* themſelves, and was the moſt terrible they had yet paſt; for ſome of the Army killed ſuch as they ſuſpected had any Gold or Silver, plundered the Carriages where the Money to pay the Army was laid up, and at laſt rifled *Anthony*'s own Equipage, ſpoiled all his inlaid Tables and Cups of ineſtimable Value, which the Rogues broke in pieces, and divided among themſelves. This occaſioned ſo great a Tumult, and ſo ſtrange an Affright (for they thought the Enemy already Maſter of the Baggage) that *Anthony* calling to him one of his Guards, named *Ramnus* his Freed-man, made him promiſe upon Oath to run him through with his Sword

[a] Plut. App. ibid.

as ſoon as he ſhould command it, and to cut off his Head, leſt he ſhould fall into the Power of the Enemy, or be known when he was dead. Under this Conſternation, and all his Friends being in Tears about him, the *Mardian* came into the Tent and gave them all new Life; he convinced them that by the Coolneſs of the Air and the freſh Gales that blew ſo temperately, he knew he could not be far from the River, which he gueſſed beſides by the length of the Way they had gone: At the ſame time they ſatisfied the General, that the Tumult was occaſioned by the Avarice of the Soldiers who had plundered one another. In order to compoſe this Diſturbance he made a halt, and commanded the Signal to be given for encamping: The Tumult being appeaſed about break of Day, every one began to fall into his Ranks, when on the ſudden the Rear-guard felt the *Parthian* Arrows: The light-armed Foot was preſently ordered out, and the Targetiers as before formed a *Teſtudo* againſt the Enemies Shot, who durſt not approach them too nigh. At laſt having fought in this manner for a little Way, the Vanguard perceived the River, where *Anthony* upon the Banks drew up the Horſe in a Poſture to receive and oppoſe the Enemy, and to favour the Paſſage of his Army. He firſt marched over the Sick and Wounded, and then all the reſt; thoſe that were left drawn up on the other ſide had time to drink at their Eaſe, for the *Parthians* being now come to the River, which was the Bounds of their Purſuit, unbent their Bows, and told the *Romans* they might now paſs without Diſturbance; and at the ſame time paſt many Complements upon them for their Valour and Conduct.

Conduct. At length the Horſe marched over the River, without being diſturbed by the Enemy, and when they were on the other ſide they joined the reſt of the Army. It was ſix Days after the laſt Skirmiſh that they arrived at the River *Araxes*, which divides *Media* and *Armenia*, and ſeemed both by its Deepneſs and the Violence of the Current to be very dangerous in paſſing; and a Report had crept in amongſt them, that the Enemy was in Ambuſh ready to ſet upon them in their Paſſage; but after they had happily croſſed it, and ſaw themſelves in Security in the Territories of *Armenia*, as if they had gained a Port after a Storm, they adored the Earth, and ſhedding Tears for Joy, every one embraced his Friend. [a] Here *Anthony*, out of Danger, took a Muſter of his Army, and found that he had loſt in this Expedition twenty thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, of which more than half died of Sickneſs. Of the Soldiery there was no leſs than the fourth Part wanting, of the Grooms and Slaves a third, and ſcarce any of the Baggage remained; yet the General called this Flight of his a Victory, for no other Reaſon but becauſe he came off alive. He fled in one and twenty Days three hundred Miles: The March continued for twenty ſeven Days together from the City of *Phraata*, and the *Parthians* were repulſed eighteen times. But this Succeſs was to no Purpoſe, for the *Romans* not being able to purſue the *Parthians* after they had routed them, the Victories remained imperfect. The Diſappointment that attended this Expedition was owing to *Artabaſus* King of *Armenia*, for

[a] Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 82. Liv. lib. 130.

had he followed *Anthony* with his ſixteen thouſand Horſe after the manner of the *Parthians*, which that King led back out of *Media*, the *Parthians* ſo many times overcome could never have rallied, becauſe that after the *Romans* had routed them, the *Armenians* following the Chaſe, had made it a perfect Victory. [a] The *Roman* General was adviſed to puniſh the Treachery of the *Armenian*, but he thought it more Prudence to conceal his Reſentments, becauſe he wanted Proviſions for his Army; and finding that his Soldiers could no longer endure the Fatigue of a Winter March, he perſuaded *Artabaſus*, by Flatteries and Promiſes, to ſuffer his Army to winter in his Country, as if he intended the next Spring to undertake another Expedition into *Parthia*. *Anthony* went into *Syria*, and from thence to *Alexandria*, to divert himſelf in the Arms of the *Egyptian* Queen.

[b] About this time *Sextus Pompeius* the Son of *Pompey* the Great carrying on his Father's Cauſe after his Death, had Overtures of Peace made to him by *Anthony*, with a Promiſe, that if he would lay down his Arms, he would pardon him and receive him into his Friendſhip. *Pompey* diſpatched Embaſſadors, and ſeemingly ſubmitted to the Conditions; but deſpiſing *Anthony* for his ſhameful Misfortunes among the *Parthians*, he ſent at the ſame time Embaſſadors to the *Parthian* King, offering himſelf to be the General of his Army the next Campaign againſt the *Romans*; but theſe Embaſſadors were ſurprized by *Anthony* before they could reach the *Parthian* Court, and brought to him to *Alexandria*.

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 49. [b] Appian lib. 5.

[a] Upon

[a] Upon the Retreat of *Anthony* from his *Parthian* Expedition, the two Kings, the *Median* and the *Parthian*, quarrelled about the Diviſion of the *Roman* Spoils; but the *Median* finding himſelf the weakeſt, and fearing to loſe his Kingdom, ſent *Polemo* the King of *Pontus* Embaſſador to *Anthony*, to engage him to begin the War anew, offering him for that Purpoſe his Forces and his Alliance. Upon theſe Propoſals the *Roman* conceived great Hopes, becauſe he believed, that to have ſubdued the *Parthians* before, he wanted nothing but Archers and Horſemen; he therefore reſolved to paſs into *Armenia*, and to join his Forces with the *Mede* upon the Banks of *Araxes*, and ſo together to make War upon the *Parthians*. And had the *Roman* General made a proper Uſe of this Opportunity, he might have taken full Satisfaction of the *Parthians* for all their Victories, and made the Empire itſelf tributary; for at that time *Phraates* had made himſelf ſo odious to his People, upon the account of his Cruelties and other Vices, that the Nation was divided into deſperate Factions, and a civil War raged in the very Bowels of it. But *Octavia* being come as far as *Athens* in her Way to *Antioch*, *Cleopatra* was afraid that the Wife might recover the Affections of the Husband, and therefore ſhe pretended to die for the Love of *Anthony*, and nothing could poſſibly ſave her but his Return: This News brought *Anthony* back to *Alexandria*, and put an end to the *Median* Expedition for that time. ÆR. ARSAC. 221.

[b] But the next Spring *Anthony* entered *Ar-*

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 49.
[b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 49. Joſeph lib. 15. Antiq. c. 5.

menia with an Army, with a Deſign to revenge himſelf upon *Artabaſus* the King of that Country, for deſerting him in his *Median* Expedition, which occaſioned the Diſgrace and Loſs that they ſuffered in *Parthia*: He had ſeveral times endeavoured to draw him into his Power, under a Pretence of Friendſhip, but the *Armenian* was ſenſible what Uſage he deſerved, and therefore made Excuſes to keep out of his Way; at laſt he ſent to him *Dellius* (an Hiſtorian, who wrote an account of the *Parthian* War) who went to *Artaxata* the Capital of the Country, where he perſuaded the King by the moſt ſolemn Promiſes for his ſafe Return, to go with him to the *Roman* Camp. There, contrary to all the Obligations of Faith and Honeſty, *Anthony* made him a Priſoner, and leading him about the Forts and Gariſons of the Country as a Captive, he thought to reduce the Kingdom without Fighting, and to receive from his Subjects a large Sum of Money as a Ranſom for their King. [a] But this Deſign not ſucceeding he threw him into ſilver Chains, thinking it beneath the Dignity of a King to be bound in Fetters of Iron; and by this Means compelling him to confeſs where his Royal Treaſure was, *Anthony* attacked the Town, and plundered it of immenſe Riches. The *Armenians* reſenting this baſe Uſage, with the Indignation it deſerved, put *Artaxias* the eldeſt Son of the captivated King upon the Throne, and marched under him with all their Forces to revenge the Treachery; but *Anthony* having routed them in Battel, forced *Artaxias* to fly for Refuge to the King of *Parthia*, upon which moſt of the

[a] Oroſ. lib. 6. c. 11.

Country

Country ſubmitted, and the reſt he reduced by force; and having made a ſolemn Treaty with the King of *Media*, he gave *Armenia* the Leſs to *Polemo* King of *Pontus*, as a Reward of his Embaſſage. [a] Here he contracted a Marriage for *Alexander*, one of his Sons by *Cleopatra*, with a Daughter of the King of *Media*, and then leaving the greateſt part of his Army in *Armenia*, he returned to *Alexandria* with rich Spoils: He entered the City in a triumphal Chariot, and led captive *Artabaſus* the *Armenian* King, with his Wife and Children: This was reſented by the *Romans*, becauſe the Solemnity of a Triumph belonged peculiarly to their City, and ſhould not have been communicated with the *Egyptians* to gratify the Pride of *Cleopatra*. To his Son *Alexander*, who was contracted to the *Median* Princeſs, he gave the Kingdoms of *Armenia*, *Media* and *Parthia*, and all the Countries of the Eaſt from *Euphrates* to *India*, when they ſhould be ſubdued.

[b] *Anthony* having winter'd at *Alexandria*, marched his Army the next Spring into *Armenia*, as if he intended to make war upon the *Parthians*; and for this Purpoſe he went as far as the River *Araxes*; but upon Reflection he deſiſted from this Enterpriſe, and was contented with the Advantage he propoſed by making a Peace with *Artavaſdes* King of the *Medes*; the Conditions of which were, that both Parties ſhould be ready upon all Occaſions to aſſiſt each other, particularly the *Mede* ſhould ſupport *Anthony* againſt *Octavianus*, and *Anthony* him againſt the *Parthians*; and to ratify the Agreement ſome

ÆR. ARSAC. 222.

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 45. Plutarch in Antonio.
[b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 49.

Soldiers

Soldiers were changed on both ſides. *Anthony* alſo delivered to the *Mede* part of *Armenia* he had lately ſeized upon, and received from him his Daughter *Jotape*, a very Child, to make a Wife when ſhe came of Age for his Son *Alexander*, and delivered up to him the *Roman* Enſigns that were in his Hands, and were loſt by *Tatianus*, when the Baggage of the Army was taken in the *Parthian* Expedition.

[a] As ſoon as the *Parthians* had heard that *Anthony* had left *Armenia*, and was gone to *Ionia* and *Greece*, in order to carry on the War againſt *Octavianus*, the King reſolved to revenge himſelf upon the *Median* King, and to ſettle *Artaxias* upon the Throne of *Armenia*; but he failed in his Attempt, for he was routed by *Artavaſdes*, not ſo much by the Courage of his *Armenian* Troops, as by the Bravery of the *Roman* Soldiers that were left with him by *Anthony*. But the War between *Anthony* and *Cæſar* requiring Supplies from all the Kings and States that were their Allies in all parts of the *Roman* World, *Anthony* was obliged to demand his Forces he had left in *Media*, and at the ſame time reſerved the Troops for his Service that he had received in exchange from the *Median* King; the *Parthian* took this Advantage, and ſet upon *Artavaſdes*, deſtitute as he was of the *Roman* Auxiliaries, and not only defeated the ſmall Number of Forces he had about him, but took the King himſelf Priſoner: As the Event of this Victory he places *Artaxias* upon the Throne of *Armenia*, and made the Kingdom of *Media* tributary to the *Parthian* Empire.

ÆR. ARSAC. 224.

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 49.

Phrahates

[a] *Phrahates* was ſo elated with this Succeſs, that the Tyranny of his Government became intolerable to his Subjects, for he had cruelly ſlain many of his Nobility, and the People he ſo oppreſſed with Taxes, that they reſolved to dethrone him; and for that Purpoſe ſet up one *Tiridates*, a Perſon of a noble Family, and of a great Intereſt in his Country, who applied to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, when he was at *Antioch*, for Aſſiſtance. At the ſame time came Embaſſadors from the *Parthian* King, complaining of the Injuries he ſuffered from the Uſurper, and entreating *Cæſar* to diſcourage the Deſign, and to deliver him up: But *Auguſtus* was rather pleaſed with theſe civil Diſſentions among the *Parthians*, and without giving Satisfaction to either Party ſent them away; telling them only, that he would take Notice of their Complaints, when he had finiſhed his Affairs in *Egypt*, whither he was going after the Battel at *Actium*. [b] During theſe Commotions in *Parthia*, the King of *Media* found Means to eſcape from his Captivity, and coming into his own Kingdom, he expelled the *Parthian* Gariſons, and recovered his Crown. *Cleopatra* the Queen of *Egypt* after the Defeat of *Anthony*, made an Effort to repair her broken Fortunes, and for that Purpoſe ſollicited moſt of the Eaſtern Kings for Aſſiſtance againſt *Cæſar*: Amongſt the reſt ſhe applied herſelf to *Artavaſdes* the *Median* King; and to prevail with him the more, ſhe cut off the Head of *Artabaſus* the King of *Armenia*, that was a Captive at *Alexandria*, and ſent it to him; but he abhorred the Preſent, and the Hand that ſent it, and inſtead of affording her

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 49. [b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 51.

Aſſiſtance,

Assistance, he professed himself an Enemy, and went over to *Cæsar*.

[a] *Tiridates* found such a Party among the *Parthians*, that he gathered an Army, and met *Phrahates* in the Field, but he was routed, and after the Battel, with great Difficulty, he escaped into *Syria*; the King immediately sent Embassadors to *Cæsar*, desiring he would oblige him to depart out of that Province; but *Augustus* wisely gave Offence to neither, for he refused to give *Tiridates* any Encouragement, and yet gave him Leave to continue in *Syria*. The Poet refers to these Commotions in *Parthia* in his [b] Ode to the *Muses*.

quis sub Arcto
Rex gelidæ metuatur Oræ
Quid Tiridatem *terreat, unice*
Securus.

Ær. Arsac. 227. This Victory and Success inflamed the natural Pride and Cruelty of the *Parthian* King; for after this defeat of the Usurper, he thought nothing could shake him in his Throne; and therefore he gave himself up to all manner of Rage and Barbarity, especially against those who were concerned in the Rebellion against him. These continual Executions of his Subjects turned the Hearts of his Nobility, who resolved to depose the [c] Tyrant, which they did, and drove him into Banishment, and forced him to retire for Protection into *Scythia*. Here he continued for some time; but applying to

[a] Dio ibid.
[b] Hor. Odarum lib. 1. Ode 26.
[c] Justin lib. 42.

the

the neighbouring Cities, and especially to the *Scythians*, among whom he was, they furnished him with a Number of Troops, and marching towards *Parthia*, he resolved to make a Push for the Recovery of his Crown. *Tiridates* hearing of his Approach, was afraid he should be delivered up alive into the King's Hands, and fled with a Number of his principal Friends to *Cæsar*, who was then making War in *Spain*; and as a Recommendation, he carried with him the youngest Son of *Phrahates*, an Infant, that he had seized, through the Negligence or Connivance of his Guardians. This was a Present very agreeable to *Cæsar*, who resolved to make his Advantage of it; and he judged it to be an Event of that Consequence, that he ordered a Medal to be struck upon the Occasion; on the one side was his Head bound about with Laurel, with this Inscription, *Augusti Divi F.* on the reverse, he was sitting upon a Chair of Ivory, and *Tiridates* standing before him, and presenting to him a little Child, swaddled with royal Bands; at the Bottom *Imp. XIV.* Upon the Flight of *Tiridates*, *Phrahates* recovered his Throne without Opposition; it is called by *Horace* the Throne of *Cyrus*, *Persia* being then a tributary Province to the *Parthian* Empire.

ÆR. ARSAC. 229.

[a] *Redditum* Cyri *Solio* Phrahatem
Dissidens plebi, numero beatorum
Eximit virtus.

[a] Hor. Od. lib. 2. Ode 2.

Ær. Arsac. 231.

[a] *Tiridates* applied in a very abject manner to *Auguſtus*, and promiſed, that if he could be reſtored to the Crown by the *Roman* Arms, *Parthia* ſhould from that time become tributary. *Phrahates* at the ſame time ſent Embaſſadors to *Cæſar*, deſiring that he would ſend him back his Servant *Tiridates*, and his Son that he had ſtolen away, and delivered up as an Hoſtage. *Auguſtus* was unwilling to determine this Affair himſelf, and therefore brought the Diſpute before the Senate, who again referred both Parties to the Emperor: He heard the Demands of both ſides, and at laſt aſſured them, that he would neither deliver up *Tiridates* to *Phrahates*, nor aſſiſt him to diſturb the Peace of his Country; but leſt they ſhould ſeem to obtain nothing of their Requeſts, he ordered a princely Allowance to be given to *Tiridates* as long as he ſhould ſtay at *Rome*, and ſent the *Parthian* King his Son without Ranſom, upon Condition that he would reſtore the Captives that were taken, and the Enſigns that were loſt in the Overthrows of *Craſſus* and *Marc Anthony*.

[b] Among other Preſents ſent by *Cæſar* to the *Parthian* King there was an *Italian* Woman, whoſe Name was *Thermuſa*, that was to attend upon the young Prince in his Journey: The King admitted her firſt in the Quality of a Concubine, but came in time to be ſo charmed with her Beauty and Converſation, that having one Son by her, whoſe Name was *Phrahataces*, he took her to his lawful Bed, having other legitimated Children of his own already,

[a] Juſtin lib. 42. Dio Caſſ. lib. 51, 53.
[b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 3.

which

which was the Occaſion of his Death, as by the Conſequence will ſoon appear. *Auguſtus* was now in *Syria* ſettling the Affairs of the Eaſt; and *Phrahates* having executed no part of the Conditions of the laſt Agreement, was afraid, leſt *Cæſar* ſhould paſs the *Euphrates*, and invade his Country. He therefore thought fit to ſend him the military [a] Enſigns he had promiſed, with all the Captives that were taken, except a few who had killed themſelves rather than live in Servitude, or were aſhamed to ſee their own Country, and therefore lay concealed among the *Parthians*.

[b] Armenius *cecidit*, *Jus Imperiumque* Phrahates
Cæſaris *accepit genibus minor*.

Auguſtus received theſe Trophies with the utmoſt Satisfaction, and the Delivery of them he underſtood as a Victory; and when he returned to *Rome*, he commanded it ſhould be decreed that publick Sacrifices ſhould be offered upon the Occaſion, and a Temple built to *Mars* the *Revenger* (in Imitation of *Jupiter Feretrius*) in the Capitol, where the Enſigns ſhould be hung up, which was alſo performed.

[c] Cantabrica *bella tuliſti*
Sub duce qui Templis Parthorum *ſigna refixit*.
tua Cæſar *ætas*.
[d] *Fruges & agris retulit uberes*
Et ſigna noſtro reſtituit Jovi,
Derepta Parthorum *ſuperbis*
Paſtibus.

[a] Florus lib. 4. c. ult. Juſtin lib. 42. Oroſ. lib. 6. 21.
[b] Hor. lib. 1. Ep. 12. [c] Ep. lib. 1. Ep. 18.
[d] Hor. lib. 4. Ode 13.

[a] The Temple *Auguſtus* had formerly vowed to *Mars*, before the Victory at *Philippi*; but now having received another Inſtance of Honour and Succeſs from the God of War, he built a Temple to *Mars* the *Biſ-Ultor*, and there hung up the military Enſigns he received from the *Parthians*; and alſo inſtituted *Circenſian* Games to be annually ſolemnized in Memory of recovering the *Roman* Standards out of the Hands of the Barbarians. [b] *Ovid* in his *Faſti* is very laborious in the Praiſe of *Auguſtus*, and in the Deſcription of this Solemnity.

Nec ſatis eſt meruiſſe ſemel cognomina Marti,
Perſequitur Parthi ſigna retenta manu;
Gens fuit & campis & equis & tuta ſagittis,
Et circumfuſis invia fluminibus.
Addiderant animos Craſſorum funera genti,
Cum periit miles, ſignaque, ducque ſuus.
Signa decus belli, Parthus Romana *tenebat,*
Romanæque *aquilæ ſignifer hoſtis erat.*
Iſque pudor manſiſſet adhuc niſi fortibus armis
Cæſaris *Auſoniæ protegerentur opes.*
Ille notas veteres & longi dedecus ævi
Suſtulit, agnorunt ſigna recepta ſuos.
Quid tibi nunc ſolitæ miſti poſt terga ſagittæ?
Quid loca quid rapidi profuit uſus equi?
Parthe refers aquilas victos quoque porrigis arcus
Pignora jam noſtri nulla pudoris habes.
Rite Deo templumque datum nomenque Biſ-ultor
Emeritus voti debita ſolvit honor.
Solennes ludos Circi celebrate Quirites
Non viſa eſt fortem ſcena decere Ducem.

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 54. [b] Faſtor. lib. 5.

And

And in another Place

[a] *Nunc porrigit arcus*
Parthus *Eques timidâ captaque Signa manu.*

Cæsar upon this Occasion had a Medal struck; on the one side was a *Parthian*, in the Habit of his Country, on his bended Knee, bearing a military Ensign in his right Hand, the Inscription *Cæsar Augustus*, and at the bottom *Sign. Recept.* on the reverse was a triumphal Arch, on the Top of which was *Augustus* in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, two Images of Victory standing on each side of him with a Crown in their Hands; the Inscription *Civil. & Sign. Milit. a Parthis Recept.*

[b] *Thermusa* the *Italian* Woman had by this time so much the Ascendant over the *Parthian* King, that she formed a Design to raise her Son to the Throne of *Parthia*; but she found this Affair was impossible to be managed, so long as the legitimate Sons were about the Court, and therefore she contrived to have them removed out of the Way. She first proposed the Matter to the old King, and it was done for the asking, so absolute a Dominion had this Woman secured over him. [c] *Phrahates* therefore immediately sent for *Titius*, who was Governor of *Syria*, and delivered to him four of his lawful Sons as Hostages, *Seraspadores*, *Rhodaspes*, *Phrahates* and *Vonones*, two of their Wives, and four of their Children: They were sent to *Rome* under the Notion of Hostages,

ÆR. ARSAC. 243.

[a] Lib. 3. Trist. [b] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 3.
[c] Justin lib. 42. Oros. l. 6. c. 21.

to ſecure the Peace between the two Nations; and the *Roman* Hiſtorians relate this Affair, as what contributed much to the Honour of *Auguſtus*, who was ſo much feared by the *Parthians*, as to have in his Poſſeſſion the Children and Grand-children of the King. [a] But the real Deſign was to ſecure the Kingdom to *Phrabates* as long as he lived, without any Diſturbance from his Children, and after his Death to deliver the Succeſſion to *Phrahataces* the Son of *Thermuſa*, who firſt contrived this *Italian* Plot; for the *Parthian* knew that the Cruelties and Executions he had committed within the Compaſs of his Reign, had rendered him hated by his Subjects, who were diſpoſed to rebel, ſo long as any of the Race of *Arſaces* was at hand to put in his Place; and likewiſe that his People would bear with his Tyranny ſo long as there was none of the Race of a fit Age to reign after him; for theſe Reaſons chiefly he readily delivered up his Sons into the Hands of the *Romans*, that he might be ſecure from any Attempts, and free from Danger, either from his Subjects or his own People. When theſe Hoſtages came to *Rome*, [b] *Auguſtus* gave them a Reception ſuitable to their Dignity; and particularly, ſays *Suetonius*, at ſome publick Shews in the Theatre, he placed them in the ſecond Row next to himſelf.

Ær. Arsac. 250. [c] About this time died *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and that Kingdom revolted from the *Romans*, for ever ſince *Pompey* overcame *Tigranes*, that then governed, that Nation received a King from *Rome*. *Auguſtus* upon this

[a] Strabo lib. 16. [b] In Auguſto.
[c] Dio Caſſ. lib. 55. Florus lib. 4.

Occaſion

Occaſion beſtowed the Government of that Province upon *Tiberius*, that was afterwards Emperor, with tribunitial Power for five Years, commanding him to place one *Artavaſdes*, that was of the Royal Blood, upon the Throne of that Kingdom; but *Tiberius* fearing the Reſentment of *Caius* and *Lucius*, two of the Sons of *Auguſtus* by Adoption, avoided the Expedition, and choſe rather to retire to *Rhodes*. [a] In the mean time the *Armenians* broke out into an open Revolt; and having ſlain a Number of the *Roman* Troops that were in the Province, and propoſed to fix *Artavaſdes* upon the Throne, they ſet up *Tigranes* the Son of the deceaſed King, and by the Aſſiſtance of the *Parthian* King, who favoured his Cauſe, in Oppoſition to the Orders of *Auguſtus*, he was put in Poſſeſſion of the Government.

[b] This Conduct of *Phrahates* was underſtood at *Rome* to be a Breach of the Peace, and *Auguſtus* reſolved to ſend an Army into the Eaſt to chaſtiſe the *Parthians*, and to ſettle the Affairs of *Armenia* according to his firſt Orders; but he was under great Difficulties whom he ſhould appoint to manage the War; for himſelf he was incapable to attempt ſuch an Expedition, by Reaſon of his old Age. *Tiberius* had retired from the Scene of Buſineſs, and he was afraid to truſt a Citizen of any Power or Character: *Caius* and *Lucius* the Sons of his Daughter *Julia*, were very young, but Neceſſity compelling him he made choice of *Caius*; firſt appointing him Proconſul, and marrying him, that ſo he might appear with more Gravity, and have

ÆR. ARSAC. 254.

[a] Tacit. Annal. 2.
[b] Zonaras ex Dione. Paterc. lib. 2. c. 102.

more Friends about him to give him Advice; and ſent with him *Marcus Lollius*, a Perſon well known in the Eaſtern Provinces, as his Companion and chief Counſellor: When he was providing for this Expedition, *Ovid* paid him this Compliment.

Ecce parat Cæſar *domito quod defuit Orbi*
Addere, nunc Oriens ultime noſter eris.
Parthe *dabis pœnas*, Craſſi *gaudete ſepulti*,
Signaque Barbaricas non bene paſſa manus
Ultor adeſt, primiſque ducem profitetur in annis
Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.

And in another Place foretelling a proſperous Event to this War, he ſays,

[a] *Ecce fugax* Parthus *magni nova cauſa triumphi*
Jam vidit in Campis Cæſaris *arma ſuis*;
Vince Cupidineas pariter Parthaſque ſagittas,
Et refer ad patrios bina trophæa Deos.

ÆR. ARSAC. 255. [b] *Caius Cæſar* having the Province of *Armenia* aſſigned him, came into *Syria*, and firſt made an Expedition againſt the *Arabians*, for he thought he might eaſily ſubdue theſe People that were unskilful in the Trade of War; and his Victories coming to the Ears of the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, would, he ſuppoſed, ſo intimidate thoſe Nations, that they would be afraid to meet him in the Field, and ſo the War would ſoon be brought to an honourable Iſſue. *Phrahates* when he heard of the military Preparations of *Caius*, and that the *Roman* Army

[a] Ovid lib. 1. de Remed. Amor.
[b] Plin. lib. 6. c. 28.

was

was advancing towards him, immediately ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, making an Apology to [a] *Auguſtus* for what he had done in *Armenia*, and deſiring a Peace between the two Nations. The Emperor ſent him an Anſwer; in which, without giving him the Title of *King of Kings*, he commanded him to evacuate *Armenia*; but *Phrahates* being no ways frightened with this Bravado, ſent him a very fierce Reply, aſſuming the Title of *King of Kings*, and calling him nothing but *Cæſar*.

[b] About this time died *Artavaſdes*, whom *Caius* had in Commiſſion to fix upon the Throne of *Armenia*; and *Tigranes* his Rival being out of the Way, ſent an Embaſſy to *Auguſtus* with great Preſents, avoiding the Title of King in his Letters, with a Petition, that ſince *Artavaſdes* was dead, that he would be pleaſed to confirm him in the Kingdom. *Caius* at the ſame time ſent to *Cæſar*, being uncertain what he ſhould do in the *Armenian* Affairs, and ſignified, that the *Parthians* he underſtood were inclined to Peace. *Auguſtus* received the Preſent of *Tigranes*, and doubting the Event of the *Parthian* War, he ordered him by his Embaſſadors to apply to *Caius* in *Syria*, where he ſhould receive an Anſwer to his Satisfaction; but *Tigranes* knowing himſelf to be the Occaſion of the War, was afraid to truſt himſelf in the *Roman* Camp, and choſe rather to fortify the Cities and Gariſons of his Country againſt any Extremity; for he thought the *Romans* would for ſome time be employed by the *Parthians* in *Syria*, and he ſhould have time ſuffici-

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 55.
[b] Dio Legat. 39. ab Urſino Edit.

ent to provide for the Security of his Kingdom.

Ær. Ar. sac. 257. [a] *Phrahates* as he advanced in Years abated nothing of his Cruelty and Tyranny he exerciſed upon his Subjects; and at this time being ſenſible how much he was hated by his People, eſpecially by his Nobility, was afraid, if he had carried on the War in *Armenia* againſt the *Romans*, his Enemies at Home would take Advantage of the Abſence of his Forces, and attempt to dethrone him. Theſe Conſiderations inclined him to a Peace; and he ſignified his Inclinations to *Caius* by his Embaſſadors, who immediately ſent the Propoſals made him by the *Parthian* to *Rome*. The Conditions he offered were to recal his Forces out of *Armenia*, and that the antient Boundaries ſhould be the Limits of both Empires. *Auguſtus* ratified the Articles of Peace, and ſent them back to *Caius*, to communicate them to the *Parthian* King; and it was agreed, that *Phrahates* ſhould come to the Banks of the *Euphrates*, and *Caius* ſhould advance to the River on the other Shore with an equal Number of Attendants, and a Conference ſhould be held between them. [b] *Paterculus* the Hiſtorian was an Officer in the *Roman* Army at the ſame time, and an Eye-witneſs of the Ceremony. *Caius*, ſays he, that moſt excellent Youth had an Interview with the *Parthian* King, in an Iſland in the *Euphrates*, the Guards that attended them being equal. This glorious and memorable Spectacle of the *Roman* and *Parthian* Armies ſtanding on the oppoſite Banks of the River, when the Princes of two of the moſt powerful Empires

[a] Dio Leg. 39. [b] Lib. 2. c. 101.

in

in the World met in Conference, I my ſelf had the Fortune to ſee in my firſt Campaign, being then a Tribune of the Soldiers. The [a] *Parthian* was firſt entertained by *Caius* on our ſide the River, and *Caius* was afterward received by that King on the other Shore; and as a Teſtimony of Friendſhip, *Phrahates* at that time diſcovered to *Caius* the Falſhood and Treachery of *Marcus Lollius* his prime Counſellor, who had taken Bribes of the *Parthian* and other Kings, and was the great Plunderer of the Eaſt; for which *Caius* forbad him his Friendſhip; and he was ſoon after found dead, to the great Joy of all the Eaſtern Provinces, and every good Citizen in the *Roman* Empire. The Account of the Peace made with the *Parthian* was diſpatched to *Rome*: *Phrahates* withdrew his Forces out of *Armenia*, according to the Articles: *Caius* wintered with his Army in *Syria*, which gave *Tigranes* an Opportunity of raiſing Forces, and providing againſt any Attack that ſhould be made upon him the next Spring.

[b] *Caius* early the next Spring entered *Armenia*; and by the Majeſty and Terror of the *Roman* Name he carried all before him, but not without Oppoſition and ſome Loſs. *Tigranes* was either driven out of his Kingdom, or taken Priſoner (it is uncertain which) and the *Armenians* laid down their Arms and ſubmitted to the Conquerors, who at their own Deſire gave the *Armenians* a King, one [c] *Ariobarzanes*, a *Mede* by deſcent, a Perſon remarkable for the Beauty of his Body, and of unex- ÆR. ARSAC. 258.

[a] Paterculus ibid. c. 102. [b] Florus lib. 4.
[c] Tacit. Annal. 2.

ceptionable Courage. This new Prince, tho' received by the general Voice of the People, was disturbed by a Conspiracy of some of his Nobles, that were led on by one *Addus* the Governor of *Artagera*, the principal City in the Kingdom, next the Capital. [a] They resented that the Race of the Great *Tigranes* should be expelled and forced out of the Throne; and they were obliged to receive from the *Romans* a King that was a *Mede*. These Insinuations produced a general Revolt: and the Disaffected enclosing themselves within the Walls of *Artagera*, *Caius* marches thither with the *Roman* Legions, and sate down before it. Here he was drawn near the Walls, under Pretence of treating with the Governor, and treacherously received a Wound that was the Occasion of his Death. The Siege however was carried on by his Officers with great Vigour, so that the Town was taken by Storm and dismantled: *Addus* was among the Number of the Prisoners, and it is supposed was put to Death: This Success confirmed *Ariobarzanes* in the Government, and *Caius* returning to *Rome* died of his Wound at *Lamyra*, a City of *Lycia*.

ÆR. ARSAC. 259. [b] The Life of *Phrahates*, a cruel and bloody Tyrant, now draws towards an end; and his Death was attended with Circumstances as horrid and tragical as those which first gave him Possession of the Throne. It was observed that his legitimate Sons were sent away to *Rome* for Hostages, and his *Italian* Wife *Thermusa* train'd up her Son *Phrahataces* at the

[a] Paterc. ibid. Strabo lib. 11. Zonaras ex Dione.
[b] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 3.

Parthian

Parthian Court in Expectation of the Kingdom. But the young Prince it ſeems thought it was ſo tedious a thing for him to wait for the Crown in Reverſion, that he entered into a Conſpiracy with his Mother to ſhorten the Buſineſs, by taking away the Life of his Father, which was accordingly executed: Thus Divine Providence purſued this wicked Parricide, with a juſt Retaliation, and took full Satisfaction upon him for the Murder of his own Father, after he had reigned with various Fortune about forty Years.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Phrahataces.

Ær. Ær-sac. 260.

PHRAHATACES [a] was about five and twenty Years old when he aſcended the Throne of *Parthia*; and though his Mother and himſelf endeavoured to perſuade the Nation that the old King died by the natural Infirmities of his Age, yet the manner of his Death was ſoon diſcovered, and the Barbarity of it ſo enflamed the People, eſpecially the Nobility, that they reſolved to dethrone him; and they were the more enraged, when they diſcovered that he kept an inceſtuous Familiarity with his Mother, who was a Woman the moſt laſcivious and wicked of her Sex. He had ſcarce felt the Weight of the Crown upon his Head before his Subjects openly rebel-

[a] Joſeph Antiq. lib. 18. c. 3.

led,

led, and in a tumultuous manner ſlew him, after a ſhort Reign of about ſix Months.

The *Parthian* Nobility conſidering that the State would fall into Confuſion without a King, and reſolving with themſelves not to ſet any Prince upon the Throne but of the Family of the *Arſacidæ* (the Blood of *Phrabates*, ſays the Hiſtorian, being ſufficiently tainted by the Luſts of this beaſtly Woman) they ſent Embaſſadors with an Invitation to one *Orodes*, who accepted of the Crown, and was accordingly declared King of *Parthia*.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Orodes II.

ÆR. ARSAC. 261.

ORODES II. * is confeſſed by *Joſephus* to have been of the Royal Family of *Arſaces*, but who was his Father, or to what Branch of the Line he belonged is unknown; nor does it more appear in what Country he lived, or where he reſided, when the *Parthian* Nobility invited him to accept the Crown. It is certain, that the Cruelty of his Diſpoſition was an Evidence that he deſcended from the Royal Stock; for he no ſooner found himſelf at the Head of the Empire, but he dip'd his Hands in the Blood of his Subjects, and made himſelf ſo hateful to the Multitude, for the outragious Barbarity of his Nature, that a Conſpiracy was ſoon formed againſt him, and he was ſet upon and ſlain, the *Parthians* never

* Joſeph: Antiq. lib. 18. c. 3.

going without their Swords. Some ſay the Execution was done at a Sacrifice, or a Banquet; but the moſt received Opinion is, that he was killed a Hunting. After the Death of *Phrahates*, and other ſucceeding Kings, occaſioned (ſays [a] *Tacitus*) by Murders committed among themſelves, the States of *Parthia* ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to deſire *Auguſtus* to ſend them a King of one of the Sons of *Phrahates*, that he retained as Hoſtages. *Cæſar* made choice of *Vonones* the eldeſt Son to ſupply the preſent Vacancy; and thought it an Honour to the Empire and himſelf to impoſe a King upon the *Parthians*. The Embaſſadors having received their Anſwer at *Rome*, were ſent by *Cæſar* into *Germany* to *Tiberius*, whom he had adopted and inveſted with tribunitial Power, that *Vonones* might be confirmed likewiſe by *Tiberius*, who was in ſome Senſe a Partner with him in the Empire.

Orodes II. was ſlain by a Conſpiracy of his Subjects, after he had reigned about ſix Months.

[a] Annal. lib. 2. c. 1. Joſeph. lib. 18. c. 3. Sueton. in Tiberio.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Vonones I.

Ær. Arsac. 262.

UPON [a] the return of the *Parthian* Embaſſadors *Vonones* was proclaimed King, and received, as their Cuſtom is upon the Acceſſion of a new Prince, with the univerſal Joy and Satisfaction of the People; for (ſays *Joſephus*) he was recommended as a Prince worthy of the Honour that was now offered him, by two of the moſt glorious Empires upon the Face of the Earth; that is, the *Roman* and the *Parthian*. But the *Parthians* began ſoon to be aſhamed (in the Words of *Tacitus*) that they had debaſed the Majeſty and Honour of their Government ſo low, as to petition for a King from another Nation,

[a] Tacit. ibid.

trained up in the Arts and Polices of their Enemies. Now (said they) the Royal Seat of the Great *Arsacidæ* is deprived of its antient Renown, and accounted among the *Roman* Provinces. Where is the Glory of those who destroyed the *Crassi* and routed *Marc Anthony*, if one of the Bond-slaves of *Cæsar*, after so many Years Servitude, should come and bear Sovereignty over the *Parthians?* Besides, the Behaviour of the new King contributed to the general Hatred and Indignation conceived against him; for he introduced new Customs and Ways of Life, different from the Usages of his Country, and the Practice of his Ancestors: He seldom went a Hunting, took no Delight in his Horses, was carried in a Chariot about the Streets, and despised the plain Fare of his Country: His *Grecian* Followers were despised, and himself publickly hissed at; for the People found out that he kept the basest Utensils of his House under his own Seal: He was easy of Access, and of a courteous and familiar Temper, which were Virtues unknown to the *Parthians*, and therefore were generally resented, being contrary to the Conduct and Severity of his Ancestors.

[a] *Josephus* upon the same Occasion observes, that upon the Accession of *Vonones*, the *Parthians* being naturally fickle and haughty, soon repented of their Choice. Their Stomachs were too big, they said, to truckle to a *Slave*, for so they translated the Word *Hostage*, and frequently reviled him with the Reproach of that Appellation; for this was not a King, they ÆR. ARSAC. 265.

[a] Ibid.

said,

ſaid, impoſed on them by any Law of Arms, but a ſcandalous Condition of a ſhameful Peace. In this Heat of Indignation they called in *Artabanus*, who was then King of the *Medes* (rather of the *Scythians*) who was of the Blood of the *Arſacidæ*, and brought up among the *Dahæ*, a People of *Scythia*, inhabiting near the *Caſpian* Sea. He readily accepted the Offer of a Crown, and was ſoon in *Parthia* with a conſiderable Army; but *Vonones* encountered him, and beat him back again into *Media*, the Generality of the *Parthians* ſtanding as yet firm to their Duty; but *Artabanus* being in a ſhort time reinforced, gave a notable Overthrow to *Vonones* in a ſecond Battel; ſo that he had great Difficulty to ſave himſelf with ſome few Horſe in *Seleucia*. *Artabanus* taking Advantage of the Conſternation the *Parthians* were in, preſſed upon the Purſuit with a terrible Slaughter, and ſo betook himſelf to *Cteſiphon* with his conquering Army: This Action put him into Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Parthia*.

ÆR. ARSAC. 270. [a] *Ariobarzanes* King of *Armenia* was now dead by a Misfortune, and that Nation was ſo enraged with the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of his Government, that they reſolved to endure none of his Race, and therefore they put their Kingdom into the Hands of a Woman, one *Erato*, with whom they were ſoon tired, and ſo they depoſed her. They fell then into a ſort of Anarchy, without Laws or Order, rather without a Governor than in a State of Liberty; which gave Occaſion to *Vonones* to fly

[a] Tacit. Annal. ibid.

into

into that Country with a Design to seize upon the vacant Throne, soliciting at the same time *Tiberius* the *Roman* Emperor by an Embassy to assist him. But whether it was the Emperor suspected his Courage, or that he himself was afraid of disobliging the *Parthians*, who then threatened a War upon him, *Tiberius* absolutely denied him; yet the *Armenians* upon the first Application received him into their Kingdom.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Artabanus III.

Ær. Arsac. 270.

ARTABANUS [a] aſcended the Throne of *Parthia*, being of the Line of *Arſaces* by his Mother's ſide; and reſolved not only to defend the Poſſeſſion he had obtained againſt all Oppoſition; but to drive *Vonones* out of *Armenia*; he was the more encouraged when he found his Embaſſadors had no Succeſs by applying to *Tiberius*, and that the great Men of *Armenia* that bordered upon *Niphates*, refuſed to appear in his Favour; ſo that [b] *Vonones*, deſtitute of all Hopes of a Kingdom, retires with a great Maſs of Treaſure to *Antioch*, and delivered himſelf up into the Hands of *Creticus Syllanus* Governor of *Syria*, who out of Reſpect to former Acquaintance

[a] Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. c. 10.

[b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 3. Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. c. 1. Sueton. in Tiberio.

with him at *Rome*, gave him a very honourable Reception and Entertainment: He allowed him a Guard, and ſuffered him to live with the Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs of an Eaſtern Prince, which mock ſort of Regality grew at laſt to be uneaſy to the unfortunate King, and he reſolved to uſe the firſt Opportunity that offered to deliver himſelf from it. *Artabanus* in the mean time placed *Orodes* one of his Sons upon the Throne of *Armenia*.

[a] Theſe Commotions in the Eaſt were no way diſagreeable to the Emperor *Tiberius*, who thought he had a fair Pretence to recal *Germanicus*, whom he hated, out of *Germany*, where he had fought ſucceſsfully, and fixed himſelf in the Love of the Soldiery; and by giving him the Command over new Provinces, ſeparate him from his beloved Legions, and expoſe him to more Danger and Hazard. For this Purpoſe the Emperor brought the Affairs of the Eaſt before the Senate, and perſuaded them that theſe Diſturbances could never be compoſed but by the Wiſdom of *Germanicus*, who was immediately, by Decree of the Senate, appointed over all the Provinces divided by the Sea; and had likewiſe a greater Extent of Power given him, than any that received the Government, either by Lot, or by Commiſſion from the Emperor: At the ſame time to be a Spy upon *Germanicus*, *Creticus Syllanus* the Governor of *Syria*, that was his Relation, was removed, and *Cneus Piſo*, his mortal Enemy, ordered to ſucceed him.

Germanicus ſet out upon his Eaſtern Expedition, and coming into *Armenia*, if we be- ÆR. ARSAC. 2724

[a] Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 2.

lieve: *Tacitus*, he found the Nation without a King, *Vonones* being expelled; but *Suetonius* with more Reaſon relates, that the King of the *Armenians* was conquered by *Germanicus*, who without doubt was *Orodes*, the Son of *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*. Upon this Vacancy of the Throne the Nation were inclined to *Zeno* the Son of *Polemon* King of *Pontus*; becauſe from his Infancy he had imitated the Cuſtoms and Attire of the *Armenians*, and ſeemed delighted with their Exerciſe of Hunting, with their way of Feaſting, and other of their Diverſions and Entertainments. This recommended him to the Favour of the Nobility, and of the common People; and *Germanicus* being then in the City of *Artaxata*, by the Conſent of all the Eſtates of the Kingdom, he crowned the Prince of *Pontus*, and placed him in the Throne of *Armenia*: He was received among them with all the Teſtimonies of Joy; and he was called *Artaxias*, after the Name of the City *Artaxata* their Capital.

[b] *Artabanus* hearing of the Misfortunes of his Son in *Armenia*, ſent Embaſſadors to *Germanicus* to renew the Friendſhip and League of Amity between the two Nations: He ſaid, that he would yield ſo much to the Honour of *Germanicus*, as to come down and confer with him upon the Banks of the *Euphrates*. However, he deſired in the mean time that *Vonones* might not be ſuffered to remain in *Syria*, leſt by private Meſſengers and Applications he might ſeduce the Nobility of the Country, and urge them on to new Troubles. Concerning the

[a] Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 13. Sueton. in Caligula.
[b] Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. c. 14.

Alliance

Alliance between the *Parthians* and the *Romans*, *Germanicus*, ſays the Hiſtorian, appeared magnificently, and ſuitably to the Majeſty of the *Roman* People; but with Regard to the King's conferring with him upon the Banks of the River, and the Honour done to himſelf, he replied civilly, and with great Modeſty. His Requeſt about the Removal of *Vonones* was complied with, for he was ſent to [a] *Pompeiopolis* a Sea Town of *Cilicia*, not ſo much to gratify the Pleaſure of *Artabanus*, as out of Reſentment to *Piſo*, to whom that Prince was moſt agreeable, upon the Account of many Favours and Civilities he had conferred upon *Plancina* his Wife. *Vonones* was accordingly confined in *Cilicia*; but finding an Opportunity to corrupt his Keepers, under a Pretence of going a Hunting, he endeavoured by all means to eſcape among the *Armenians*, and from thence to the *Albanians* and *Heniochians*, and to his Relation the King of *Scythia*. He left the Sea Coaſts, and took his Flight through By-ways and Foreſts, till by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe he came to the River *Pyramus*. There he found the Bridges broken down by the Inhabitants, who had heard of his Eſcape, and the Deepneſs of the Current made it impoſſible to paſs at a Ford: He was therefore taken by the River ſide by *Vibius Fronto* Captain of the Horſe, and bound. Soon after he was run through the Body by *Remmius Evocatus*, to whoſe Charge he was firſt committed; for it was ſuppoſed he was corrupted and made acceſſary to his Eſcape, and ſo he ſtabbed this unfortunate King, as the moſt effectual Method

[a] Tacit. An. l. 2. c. 16.

to prevent a Diſcovery. [a] The Death of this Prince is otherwiſe related by *Suetonius*, in this manner: *Tiberius* gave himſelf up to all manner of Rapine and Violence; but one of the greateſt Injuries was done to *Vonones* the King of the *Parthians*, who being driven by Force from among his own People, had made his Eſcape to *Antioch* with great Riches, where he continued for ſome time, as he thought, under the Protection of the People of *Rome*; but contrary to all Juſtice and Faith, he was not only pillaged by Order from the Emperor, but moſt treacherouſly ſlain.

About this time *Germanicus* died in *Syria*, and upon the Day he died (ſays the [a] Hiſtorian) the People threw Stones at their Temples, pulled down their Altars, flung their Houſhold Gods out of Doors, whilſt the new born Babes were expoſed, and in their Indignation, forſaken by their Parents: The Barbarians themſelves (if we may believe Relation) who were at Wars with one another, nay even with us, reſenting ſo general a Loſs, made a Ceſſation of their own accord, whilſt their Governors ſhaved their Wives Heads in Token of their Sorrow. The King of the *Parthians* alſo left off his Hunting, and forbore his ordinary Converſation among his Princes and Grandees of his Court, which among the *Parthians* is like the ſtopping of their Courts of Juſtice, and never uſed but upon ſome extraordinary Diſaſter.

ÆR. ÆRSAC. 276. [b] At this time there happened a Rebellion in *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon*, that were Provinces under the Dominion of the *Parthian* King,

[a] In Tiberio. [b] Sueton. in Tiberio.

which

which with ſome Difficulty was ſuppreſſed. The Account is particularly given by [a] *Joſephus* in this manner: The *Jews* of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon* were now in ſo miſerable a State of Calamity and Confuſion, that we read of nothing like it in any of their former Hiſtories; but this Story is not to be written exactly (which I propoſe to do) without tracing it down in a Line from the Original. There is in the Province of *Babylon* a City called *Nearda*, a Place wonderfully populous, and the Soil fruitful enough to maintain the Inhabitants. The Town is well walled and fortified, with the River *Euphrates* about it; and not far from it there is another City called *Niſibis* upon the ſame River. There was no Fear or Danger of any Enemy breaking in upon this Quarter, ſo that the *Jews* laid up in theſe two Places the common Stock of their holy Treaſure, as it was dedicated and brought in from time to time according to Cuſtom: From hence it was tranſmitted to *Jeruſalem* in the proper Seaſon, under ſtrong Convoys, for fear of the *Parthians* upon the Road, who were then Maſters of *Babylon*.

[a] There were among the *Jews* of *Nearda* two Brothers, *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus*; their Father was dead, and their Mother had put them out to the weaving Trade to learn to make Sail-cloth, which is no Diſparagement to thoſe People, where the Men are uſed to card and ſpin. Theſe Brothers coming one Day late to work, their Maſter gave them Correction for it, which they took ſo heinouſly, that they preſently armed themſelves with what came

[a] Antiq. lib. 18. c. 12. [a] Ibid.

next to hand; and so they went to a Place upon the parting of the River, where was great plenty of Corn, Grass, Fruit, and all manner of Provision for a Winter Store. While they lay in this Retreat, there gathered about them a necessitous Crew of bold, lusty, young Fellows, that armed and listed themselves under their Command, no Person daring to controul them. With the Assistance of this Party they raised a strong Fort, and then sent out their Emissaries and Collectors up and down the Neighbourhood to raise Contributions; they gave Assurances of Friendship and Protection to those that complied, and menacing Man and Beast in case of a Refusal; so that the People were under a kind of Necessity of doing whatever they would have them, being by this time grown so numerous and powerful, that they were not able to resist them; insomuch, that the King of *Parthia* was startled at this Commotion.

[a] The Governor of *Babylon*, informed of these Disturbances, finding himself concerned to suppress the Sedition in its Infancy, drew an Army together out of *Babylon* and *Parthia*, and marched immediately with some select Troops in order to get up time enough with the Mutineers, and to surprise them. When he was advanced by Defiles and By-ways to the sides of a mooriſh piece of Ground he made an Halt, and depending upon it, that the next Day being the Sabbath, they would not venture a Battel, he moved gently forward, proposing to fall upon them unawares, and make sure of a Victory. *Asinæus* at this time was not

[a] Ibid.

far

far off; but careleſs of any Danger, he was lying along upon a Back with his Company about him, and his Arms lying by; at laſt, in a Surpriſe, *Fellow Soldiers*, ſays he, *I fancy I hear the neighing of Horſes; not ſuch a neighing as if they had a Mare in the Wind, but the neighing of Horſes preſſing to a Battel. I think likewiſe I hear the champing of their Bits, and we had beſt be upon our Guard, and take Care we are not circumvented; wherefore, for certainty, let ſome Perſon be inſtantly ſent out for Diſcovery, and I ſhould be glad to find my ſelf miſtaken.* Scouts were accordingly ſent out, and in a very little time came back again upon the Spur, with News, that *Aſinæus* was not miſtaken, for the Enemy was at Hand, and upon the Point of executing his Revenge. They have Abundance of Horſe, ſays the Scout, to over-run and trample us all under Foot; beſides, we are at preſent under great Difficulties; we are but as ſo many naked Men, for we are forbidden by the very Laws of our Religion to prophane the Sabbath with any ſort of Reſiſtance. But *Aſinæus* declared himſelf of another Opinion, and told them, it was an unreaſonable Thing for them to ſtand ſtill and have their Throats cut to gratify a barbarous Enemy: *By no means, my fellow Soldiers, conſult your Courage, and the ſovereign Law of all Laws, the preſent Neceſſity: Wherefore follow my Example, that at the worſt we may not fall unrevenged, and the reſt let us commit to Providence.* Upon this Exhortation and Encouragement he betook himſelf to his Arms, and led his Companions on to the Engagement, where finding the Enemy careleſs and ſecure, and in a Poſture, rather to take Poſſeſſion of a Victory than to

diſpute it, they ſet upon them unprovided, made a great Slaughter upon the Place, and put the reſt to flight.

[a] The Bravery of the two Brothers gave the King of *Parthia*, upon the News of this Defeat, ſuch a Curioſity and Impatience to have an Interview and to exchange ſome Diſcourſe with them, that he ſent to them one of his Guards that he moſt confided in with this Meſſage. *I have a Commiſſion from* Artabanus *King of* Parthia, *to acquaint you*, ſays he, *that though you have done him an Injury in making this Inroad into his Dominions, he is yet ready to bury all paſt Controverſies in the Eſteem he has for the Character he has heard of your Perſons. And I am farther to acquaint you in my Maſter's Name, that without any Fraud or indirect Meaning, he deſires to join in a League of Friendſhip with you: And I am likewiſe to offer you upon his Faith and Honour, all Aſſurances that you your ſelves can deſire, for your ſafe Paſſage and Security in your Journey backward and forward. You will find the King a munificent and a generous Prince, and ready upon all Occaſions to give you farther Proofs of his gracious Inclination and Bounty.* *Aſinæus* was not inclined to undertake this Journey, but he ſent his Brother *Anilæus* upon the Compliment, with ſuch Preſents as he was able to furniſh. Upon his coming to the King he found his Acceſs open and eaſy; but *Artabanus* taking Notice that he came alone, asked him what the Meaning of it was, that he did not bring his Brother along with him. *Anilæus* gave the King to underſtand that he was ſafe in the Marſhes where he was, and

[a] Ibid.

not

not willing to truſt himſelf any where elſe, or lye at any one's Mercy. The King immediately perceived that he diſtruſted his Safety, and therefore ſwore by his Gods, that not a Hair of either of their Heads ſhould be touched; and for a Ratification of his Oath, he gave *Anilæus* his right Hand upon it, which, with the *Parthians*, is the moſt ſacred Tye of good Faith that can be given; for after that Ceremony paſt, they are ſo far from any Apprehenſion of being deceived, that there is no room after it, even for Jealouſy itſelf, or the very Suſpicion of falſe dealing. *Artabanus* upon this Aſſurance ſent *Anilæus* back again to bring his Brother, conceiving that the two Brothers would be of Uſe to him, and keep thoſe Provinces in Obedience, that were wavering toward a Revolt in the King's Abſence, by the Aſſiſtance of the Party they brought along with them. And neither could he be certain, but that when he himſelf was employed in ſuppreſſing of a Rebellion on the one Hand, *Aſinæus* might be fortifying himſelf with Men and ſtrong Forts, and doing Miſchief about *Babylon* on the other.

[a] *Aſinæus* underſtanding by the Report of his Brother how great a Reſpect the *Parthian* King had expreſſed for them both, and with what Earneſtneſs of Oaths and Proteſtations he confirmed the Sincerity of his Profeſſions, was eaſily prevailed upon to wait upon the King with *Anilæus*, and ſo they went together. *Artabanus* received them at his Court with great Civility and good Will; but upon comparing the Dignity of *Aſinæus*'s Mind, with the ſim-

ER. ARSAC. 280.

[a] Ibid.

ple

ple Appearance and the disagreeable Figure of his Person, he was not a little surprised at the Disproportion, and observed to some of his Friends, that the Soul of that Man was never made for his Body. He took Occasion one Day as he was at the Table to speak of him to *Abdagasus* his General, of his martial Performances and Feats of Arms, very much to his Advantage. *Abdagasus* made no other Reply, but only to beg his Majesty's Leave to cut his Throat, in revenge for the Affront he had put upon the *Parthians*. *No*, says the King, *I will never suffer so dishonourable a Thing to a Man that has committed himself to my Protection, and whom I am bound both by Oath and Contract to protect. But*, says he, *if you have such a mind to exercise your Courage, you may find a Way of vindicating the* Parthians, *without making me forsworn; you have no more to do than to attack him in his return, without making me privy to your Purpose.* The next Morning early the King called for *Asinæus* again. *It is time, young Man*, says he, *for you to go home again, before the Animosity of my Officers run too high, for you may have Mischief done you, and it may not be in my Power to prevent it. Let me commend* Babylon *to your Care, and do what you can to maintain Peace there, and preserve the Province from Robberies: In short you have committed your Life into my Hands, and your Safety I shall have as much at Heart as my own.* With these Words, and some honourable Presents, the King dispatched *Asinæus* to take charge of his Command, where he applied himself instantly to the Business of his Commission; in building of Forts; repairing and fortifying as he saw Occasion; acquitting himself to so universal a Satisfaction,

tisfaction, that never any Man before him arrived at ſuch a Degree of Reputation and Power in ſo ſhort a time, and from ſo ſlender a beginning; and this not only among the great Men of *Babylon*, but the *Parthian* Governors and Commanders had likewiſe the ſame Eſteem for him; his Authority all this while encreaſing with the Strength of his Arms and Party, inſomuch, that the whole Province of *Meſopotamia* was under his Conduct and Direction.

[a] Things went on with the two Brothers in this proſperous Way for about fifteen Years, highly to the Satisfaction of the World, and their own Glory. But, ſays the Hiſtorian, when they came once to decline in their Piety and Manners, and abandoning the Study of Virtue, and the Diſcipline and Precepts of their Forefathers, to give themſelves up to ſenſual Pleaſures and foreign Innovations, their Credit and Character began to fail. There happened to come into theſe Provinces a certain *Parthian* Governor, and his Wife along with him, a Woman of extraordinary Accompliſhments, as well for her admirable Qualities, as for the Charms of her Perſon and Beauty: This Woman (whether upon Fame or upon Sight, is uncertain) *Anileus* fell deſperately in Love with, and having no other Way of gratifying his Paſſion made War upon her Husband, killed him upon the firſt Encounter, got Poſſeſſion of the Woman, and ſo took her to his Bed. This Adventure was the beginning of all the Calamities that afterward fell upon them: For this Woman, whether ſhe were at Home or Abroad, had conſtantly about her certain Images of Bar-

[a] Ibid.

barian

barian Gods. She was now a Widow and a Priſoner, and having privately concealed ſome of theſe Idols, ſhe took her Opportunity of worſhipping them for a while, only by ſtealth. But when *Anilæus* took her to himſelf, and owned her publickly for his Wife, ſhe did as publickly own the Exerciſe of her Religion, without carrying the Buſineſs any longer as a Secret. The beſt Friends the two Brothers had greatly reſented the Licenſe of this abominable Practice, in marrying a barbarous Woman, and an Idolatreſs in ſo audacious a Defiance of the Laws, Rites and Cuſtoms of the *Jews*. Let this ſerve as a Caution to Princes in time to come, how they depart from their Duty to God, to gratify their carnal Pleaſures. But there was no room left here for Offices of Reaſon, or wholeſome Council, for one of the moſt eminent Adviſers was ſtabb'd to death upon the Place, only for the honeſt Liberty of diſcharging his Conſcience, breathing out his laſt with this prophetical Imprecation in his Mouth, againſt the Brothers and their Complices. *May a Puniſhment*, ſays he, *fall upon them for the Indignities they have committed againſt Religion and againſt Friendſhip: May their Enemies repay them the ſame Meaſure they have delivered out to others: May Vengeance purſue the Brothers as the capital Authors of this Violence, and the reſt for aſſiſting towards the barbarous Murder of the Patron of their Laws and Liberties, whom they ought to have defended.* Indeed, every one extremely reſented the Death of this good Man, but the paſt Kindneſſes of the Brothers, and the Senſe they had of being obliged to them for the Advantage of their preſent Condition, atoned for all. The People with theſe

these Thoughts kept for some time within tolerable Bounds, till at last the barefaced and impudent Profession of Idolatry put the Affront past all Sufferance; insomuch, that the People upon that Scandal came open Mouth in Crouds and Tumults to *Asinæus*, with Complaints against his Brother; telling him plainly, that though the Matter ought to have been let alone at first, yet since the Thing was done, he would do well to take some severe Course in time to prevent farther Mischief, for it would certainly put all Things into a Flame. The Marriage, they said, was so manifest an Usurpation upon their Religion, that no Person could approve of it; and then for the idolatrous Practice of this lewd Woman, it was as gross an Encroachment upon the Worship of the true God. *Asinæus* could not but own himself to be fully convinced of the dangerous Consequences both to himself and to his People of this Wickedness of his Brother's; yet what with the Tenderness of so near a Relation in the Case, and what with an Allowance for human Frailty in so invincible an Affection, he palliated the Matter without proceeding to any exemplary Severity upon it; but finding himself every Day more and more persecuted and clamoured at, he was so plain with his Brother, as to check him for what was past, and to caution him for the future, charging him plainly to send the Woman home to her Friends again. But this wrought nothing upon him, for the Woman finding the mutinous Humour of the People to increase, and consequently fearing some Mischief might befall *Anilæus* for her sake, she poisoned *Asinæus*, making no doubt of coming

off

off well enough herſelf, when a doting Huſband ſhould be her Judge.

[a] *Anilæus* having now ſecured the whole Power in his own Hands, made an Incurſion with his Army into the Eſtate of *Mithridates*, a Perſon of the firſt Quality among the *Parthians*, and the Son-in-law of *Artabanus* the King: He found Money, Slaves and Cattle there in Abundance, beſide other rich Booty that he carried away to a prodigious Value. *Mithridates* was not far off at that time, and hearing of this Inroad and Ravage, and how it was managed, not only without any ſort of Provocation, but by way of Inſolence, Contempt and Scorn, he drew together a Body of his choiceſt Troops, and ſo marched away with his Army to give *Anilæus* Battel. The next Day being the *Jews* Sabbath, which they moſt religiouſly celebrated for a Day of reſt, he halted at a Village that Night, with an Intent to fall upon them by a Surpriſe on the Day following. A *Syrian* that lived there in the Neighbourhood gave *Anilæus* Intelligence of the Deſign, and particularly where *Mithridates* was to be that Night at a ſolemn Entertainment. *Anilæus* upon this Advice ordered his People to go to Supper, marching afterward that Night up to the Enemy, to ſet upon them by Surpriſe, wherein he ſucceeded to his Wiſh; for about the fourth Watch he fell into their Quarters, and ſome he took aſleep, others in a Conſternation were forced to ſhift for themſelves in the Dark. *Mithridates* alſo was taken alive, and made a Priſoner, and mounted naked on an Aſs, which the *Parthians* look upon as the ut-

[a] Ibid.

moſt

moſt Indignity. When they had carried him thus into a certain Wood, ſeveral of *Anilæus*'s Friends were for killing him outright, but he himſelf was againſt it, and gave his Reaſon for his Opinion. This Perſon, ſays he, is one of the greateſt Men of the whole Country, and matched you ſee into the Royal Family of *Parthia:* Give him his Life now you have him at Mercy, and you may depend upon it that he will forgive all paſt Affronts, and never forget the Obligation; beſide, the preſerving of an Intereſt, that in caſe of the worſt, will be able to procure an Accommodation: And on the other hand, if you put *Mithridates* to Extremities, you may be ſure the King will never reſt till he has avenged his Blood upon all the *Jews* in *Babylon*; and thoſe are a People whom we ought to be tender of, both for Affinity's ſake, and in point of common Prudence; for the Chance of War is uncertain, and it is good even in caſe of any Diſaſter to make ſure of a Retreat. The whole Multitude were brought over to the ſame Opinion, ſo that *Mithridates* by Conſent was ſet at Liberty and diſcharged.

But his Wife perceiving at his coming back upon what Terms he was returned, flew in his Face with a thouſand Reproaches: *You*, ſays ſhe, *the Son-in-law of a* Parthian *King! After ſo many notorious Outrages and Diſgraces put upon you by the* Jews, *and now at laſt their Priſoner, to have ſo mean a Soul, as but to own a Life upon the Title of their Charity: Either redeem your Honour*, ſays ſhe, *or by thoſe Powers, I ſwear, that guard the Throne of Kings, from this time I will have no more to do with you. Mithridates*, urged on by the Bitterneſs of theſe daily Taunts, and the Apprehenſion that this high-

high-ſpirited Woman would proceed to a Divorce, he put himſelf, how unwillingly ſoever, at the Head of an Army, but with this Conviction upon him, that the *Parthian* did not in truth deſerve to live that would ſubmit to a *Jew*. So ſoon as *Anilæus* heard that *Mithridates* was marching towards him, he made a point of Honour of it, not to take Advantage of the Faſtneſſes he was poſſeſſed of, but rather to put it to the Iſſue of a Battel in the plain Field: So that *Anilæus* marched forward to meet the Enemy in the Head of a Body of Men, that ſcarce knew what it was to be worſted; for over and above their Veteran Troops, they were joined alſo by ſeveral Inforcements, that fell in with them for the ſake of the Booty, and they judged the Victory to be their own before they came to engage.

In this Confidence they marched about fourſcore Furlongs into a dry ſandy Country; and when they were now ſo ſpent with the Drought of the Place, the Fatigue of the March, and the Heat of the Weather, that they were hardly able to ſtand, *Mithridates* fell upon them briskly with freſh Men, and put them to a total Rout, and cut off ſeveral Thouſands of them in the Chaſe; *Anilæus* with thoſe that eſcaped making to a Foreſt there near Hand in the greateſt Confuſion, and leaving *Mithridates* in the happy Poſſeſſion of an abſolute Victory. There came in to *Anilæus* after this Defeat ſuch Multitudes of looſe Deſperadoes, that his Army was not long recruiting to its former Number; but they were raw undiſciplined Men, and not comparable for Valour with thoſe that fell. With theſe Men however he marched into the *Babylonians* Quarters, and

laid all waſte. Upon this the *Babylonians* ſent to the *Jews* at *Neerda* to deliver up *Anilæus* to Juſtice; but this could not be obtained, for the Man was not in their Power. The next Propoſal was to invite him to a Peace, or at leaſt to a Treaty, to try if they could accommodate Matters upon Terms. This they agreed to, and ſent Commiſſioners on both ſides, *Jews* as well as *Babylonians*, to manage the Debate. The *Babylonians* taking ſtrict Notice of the Place where *Anilæus* and his Companions were together, brake in upon them in the dead of the Night by Surpriſe, and finding them drunk and ſleepy, they killed all in their Way without any Oppoſition, and *Anilæus* himſelf among the reſt. After his Death, the Hiſtorian obſerves, that the *Jews* were barbarouſly treated by the *Babylonians* and the *Grecians*; and at laſt, after many thouſands of them had been ſlain, the Remainder were forced to withdraw to *Cteſiphon*, a *Greek* City near *Seleucia*, where the King of *Parthia* commonly reſides in the Winter, and keeps the richeſt Furniture of his Court.

[a] *Artabanus* after the Death of *Germanicus* being freed from the Fear of the *Roman* Arms, grew inſolent and imperious to his People, which gave Occaſion to ſome of his Nobility to conſpire againſt him, and the Chief of them came privately to *Rome* upon that Account. This Prince, ſays *Tacitus*, had ſhewn great Moderation to his Subjects and Fidelity to the *Romans* in the Life-time of *Germanicus*, whom he did not dare to offend; but when he was delivered from all Apprehenſion by his Death, Ær. Arsac. 291.

[a] Tacit. Annal. 6. c. 31.

he became insolent to us, and cruel to his Vassals. His Success in his Wars against his neighbouring Nations, and the extreme Age of *Tiberius*, which rendered him incapable of Business, inspired him with Courage, and gave him the Boldness to seize on the Kingdom of *Armenia*, after the Death of *Artaxias*, and place on the Throne *Arsaces* his eldest Son; and to add a new Bravado to this Injustice, sent to demand the Restitution of the Treasure, which *Vonones* had left in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and the Lands which anciently belonged to the *Macedonians* and *Persians*; threatning, and vainly boasting at the same time, that he would re-establish the Conquests of *Cyrus* and *Alexander*. [a] *Tiberius* bore these Insults without return, which so raised the Pride of the *Parthian* King, that he resolved to seize the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* likewise. The principal Authors of the Conspiracy who went on this private Embassy to *Rome* were *Abdus* and *Sinnaces*, both eminent for their Wealth and Nobility: The first was the chiefest Man of the Empire, the other the second, though an Eunuch; for this Defect of Virility, instead of being ignominious, is accounted honourable among the *Parthians*; and Eunuchs commonly are possessed of the greatest Places in the Government. These Men finding that they could set up no one of the Blood of *Arsaces* that was fit to command them (some being under Age, and others killed by the Order of *Artabanus*) sent to *Rome* to demand the Son of *Phrahates*, who bore his Father's Name; urging, that the Name of *Tiberius* and *Phrahates* was sufficient to restore

[a] Dio Cass. lib. 58.

the

the young Prince to the Throne of the *Arſacidæ*, and that the *Parthians* would ſoon come in to them from all Parts, if they would but ſhew themſelves on the Banks of the *Euphrates*.

[a] *Tiberius* was exceedingly pleaſed with this Propoſal, and immediately puts *Phrahates* into an Equipage ſuitable to his Character, and ſends him with Forces neceſſary to take Poſſeſſion of his Father's Throne; ſtill obſerving his old Rule of Policy, by fomenting Wars and Diſturbances Abroad, to keep himſelf quiet at Home. *Artabanus* having Advice of the Conſpiracy was enflamed with an impatient Deſire of Revenge; but apprehending the ill Conſequences of ſudden Reſolutions, he was ſuſpended for ſome time between Paſſion and Fear; at laſt (notwithſtanding it is accounted ſervile and mean among the *Parthians* to temporiſe, and a Mark of a truly noble and generous Spirit to proceed to ſudden Execution) his Intereſt prevails, and he invited *Abdus* to an Entertainment, where he gave him a lingring Poiſon, which carried him off: And then to obſtruct the Deſigns of *Sinnaces*, he engaged him with Preſents and falſe Careſſes, and amuſed him with ſeveral great Employments he heaped upon him. In the mean time *Phrahates* having left off the *Roman* Way, which he had been accuſtomed to for many Years, and accommodating himſelf to that of the *Parthians*, too ſevere for ſo weak a Conſtitution, dies in *Syria*. Upon his Death *Tiberius*, unwilling to forſake his Enterpriſe, ſends *Tiridates* of the Royal Line; and that he might the ſooner obtain his

ÆR. ARSAC. 292.

[a] Tacit. ibid. c. 32.

Purpoſe, he wrote to *Mithridates*, who was Brother to the King of the *Hiberians*, to invade *Armenia*; theſe Brothers had fallen out between themſelves, but upon this Occaſion they were reconciled by the *Roman* Emperor. *Tiberius* committed the Direction of all theſe Affairs in the Eaſt to *Lucius Vitellius*.

[a] *Mithridates* was the firſt of theſe petty Kings who made War on *Artabanus*; he engaged his Brother *Pharaſmanes* King of the *Hiberi* to ſecond his Attempt with open Arms and ſecret Treachery, employing Perſons to corrupt the Domeſticks of *Arſaces* to aſſaſſinate him. In the mean time *Mithridates* with the *Heberi* enters *Armenia* with a powerful Army, and ſeized *Artaxata* the capital City. *Artabanus* receiving this News ſends his Son *Orodes* with what Troops he had in readineſs to revenge the Affront, and employs all his Diligence to raiſe a new Army. *Pharaſmanes* of his ſide omitted nothing for his Defence, and fortifies himſelf with the Addition of the *Albanians* and *Sarmatæ*, with whom were the *Sceptruchæ* Soldiers of Fortune, who received Pay of both Sides; ſome fighting in the Service of the *Hiberi*, others of the *Parthians*. In the mean time the former making themſelves Maſters of the Paſs, flung an Army of the *Sarmatæ* over the *Caſpian* Mountains into *Armenia*, and commanding all the Avenues, hindred thoſe who came to the Aſſiſtance of the *Parthians* from entring the Country. There was indeed another Paſs between the *Caſpian* Sea and the Mountains of *Armenia*; but this was under Water, by Reaſon of the eaſterly Winds which

[a] Tacit. ibid. c. 33.

drove

drove the Waves on the Shore; whereas the ſoutherly Winds drive them back into the Sea, and leave the Sand dry.

[a] *Pharaſmanes* finding himſelf ſtrong enough provokes *Orodes* to fight, who having for a long time ſuffered the Inſults of the Enemy, who kept him beſieged in his Camp, and cut off his Forage; and being preſſed by the Murmurs of his Soldiers, who were not diſpoſed to ſuffer the Bravado of the Enemy, at laſt reſolved to give them Battel, without expecting farther Aſſiſtance, though he had but a ſmall Force of Infantry with him. The *Parthians* (as the Hiſtorian goes on) fight only on Horſeback; whereas the *Hiberi* and *Albanians*, bred in the Foreſts, ſupport the Fatigue, and are better Footmen: They pretend to be deſcended from the *Theſſalians*, about the time when *Jaſon*, after he had ſtole *Medea*, and had Children by her, returned to *Colchos*, and found the Throne vacant by the Death of *Æta:* They produce ſeveral Monuments of their Original, and have a great Veneration for the Oracle of *Phryxus*; and no Perſon may preſume to ſacrifice a Ram, becauſe the Tradition runs, that Prince was brought into their Country on the back of that Animal, which I rather believe was a Ship with that Picture. The Armies being ranged in order of Battel, *Orodes* made an Harangue to his Soldiers, extolling the Greatneſs of the *Parthian* Empire, and the glorious Exploits of the *Arſacidæ*, treating with Contempt the petty King of the *Hiberi* and his mercenary Troops. On the other ſide *Pharaſmanes* repreſented to his Men, that they had

[a] Cap. 34.

ever preſerved themſelves from the *Parthian* Yoke; that the Greatneſs of the Enterpriſe would be an eternal Honour to them if they returned victorious; that Flight would be equally ignominious and dangerous; he deſired they would look upon themſelves how formidable and dreadful they appeared in Compariſon of the *Medes* their Enemies, ſhining and gilded with Gold; that on his ſide were Men, on the other Plunder.

[a] When the Prince had ended, the *Sarmatæ*, after their manner, began to encourage one another, crying each to his Fellow, *Come, let us run ſtreight upon the Enemy Sword in Hand, and deprive them of the Advantage they have over us by their Arrows*; which they inſtantly did. This made the Figure of the Battel very various; the *Parthians*, who could as well maintain the Fight in their Retreat as purſuing, gave back, endeavouring to gain Space for their Arrows: The other on the contrary had flung away their Bows to fight Hand to Hand with their Sabres and Battle-axes; one while as in a Horſe fight they advanced and retreated, then again cloſing like ſo many Battalions of Infantry, and rudely falling one upon another, mutually repelled each other by Turns: At laſt the *Parthians*, being engaged between the Infantry and the *Hiberian* Cavalry, were beaten off their Horſes; and to complete their Misfortunes, *Pharaſmanes* and *Orodes* rencountring each other as they rid to and fro among the Ranks to encourage the Soldiers and bring them up, *Orodes* was wounded through his Helmet, the other could not redouble his Blow, being carried off

[a] Cap. 35.

by

by the Fleetneſs of his Horſe, and the Guards coming in to the Relief of the Wounded; but the Rumour of his Death being diffuſed through the Army diſheartned the *Parthians*, and ſo completed the Defeat. [a] By this Victory the *Parthians* loſt *Armenia*, and it was given to *Mithridates* the Brother of the *Hiberian* King.

[b] *Artabanus*, impatient of Revenge, gathers the whole Strength of his Kingdom and began his March, but coming to an Engagement, he was routed by the *Hiberians*, who were better acquainted with the Country. This Defeat however would not have obliged him to retire, had not *Vitellius* forced him to retreat, by making a Feint, as if he had a Deſign upon *Meſopotamia*, and for that Purpoſe he drew up his Legions into a Body: This Motion utterly ruined the Affairs of the *Parthian*, and obliged him to return out of *Armenia*. *Vitellius* at this time took Occaſion to preſs the *Parthians* to rebel, and throw off a Prince who was ever cruel in Peace, and unfortunate in War. Upon which *Sinnaces* a Malecontent, mentioned before, privately ſollicites his Father *Abdageſes* the *Parthian* General to revolt; a great many joined with them, who more readily complied, ſeeing *Artabanus* weakened by his continual Loſſes, and the People who were kept in their Obedience, more by Fear than Love, took up Arms, finding the great Men of the Kingdom at their Head. *Artabanus* in this general Defection had none but Foreigners left who were of his Guard, mercenary Men, exiled from their own Country, and ready to commit any Villanies for Hire, and void of all Senſe of Good and Evil.

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 58. [b] Tacit. ibid. c. 36.

With

With theſe he flies into *Scythia*, and the remoteſt Provinces, in Hopes of procuring ſome Aſſiſtance from the *Carmanians* and *Hircanians*, who were his Allies, and to give time to the Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy of the *Parthians*, who are commonly diſguſted with their preſent Princes, and ſoon regret their Abſence, and repent of their Revolt.

Theſe Tranſactions are differently related by [a] *Joſephus*, who ſays, that *Vitellius* received Letters of Direction from *Tiberius* to make a League with *Artabanus* the *Parthian* King; for he was afraid if he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of *Armenia*, that it might be dangerous to the Empire: But this was to be done only upon Condition of having one of the King's Sons for an Hoſtage. This put *Tiberius* upon tampering with the Kings of *Hiberia* and *Alania* by great Sums of Money, to engage them immediately in a War with *Artabanns*. The *Hiberians* could not be prevailed upon any farther than to leave the *Alanians* a free Paſſage through their Country, and ſo by the *Caſpian* Mountains to open them an Inroad into the Kingdom of *Artabanus*. Upon this Irruption the *Parthians* preſently loſt *Armenia*; and that Blow was followed with ſo deſperate a Ravage upon their own Country, that the Nobility was almoſt entirely cut off, together with the King's Son, and ſo many thouſands of the common People, that they were in a manner unpeopled by this Invaſion. *Artabanus* found by this time that he was betrayed within his own Court, and that his neareſt Friends and Relations were bribed into a Plot by *Vitellius* to deſtroy him: So that not

[a] Antiq. l. 18. c. 6.

knowing

knowing whom to truſt, for fear of Treachery, under a Pretence of Friendſhip; and being convinced that Men of the firſt Rank and Quality were in the Conſpiracy, he made his Eſcape immediately into the Upper Provinces, where he was not only protected, but reinforced with ſo conſiderable an Army of the *Dahi* and *Sacæ*, that he not only overthrew his Enemies, but recovered his Kingdom.

[a] *Tacitus* goes on: *Vitellius* upon the Deſertion of *Artabanus*, finding the *Parthians* diſpoſed to receive a new Maſter, perſuaded *Tiridates* to embrace this Opportunity; and to ſupport him, he advances to the Banks of the *Euphrates* with the Flower of the *Roman* Legions, and the confederate Troops; as they ſacrificed, the one, the *Suovetaurilia*, a *Swine*, a *Sheep*, and a *Bull*, after the *Roman* manner, the other a *Horſe* to appeaſe the River, the neighbouring Inhabitants brought them Word that the *Euphrates*, without the Addition of Rain, had ſwelled up to a vaſt Degree, and that the white Froth of the Waves compoſed a Figure which repreſented a Diadem. This Event was interpreted by ſome as a Preſage of the happy Paſſage of *Tiridates*; others more ſubtilly applied it to ſignify a proſperous beginning, which ſhould be but of ſhort Continuance, becauſe the Waters which are in an inceſſant Motion, cannot like the Heavens and the Earth afford ſolid and laſting Preſages, but deprive us of their Favours at the ſame time they preſent them. The Army having paſt the River upon a Bridge of Boats, *Ornoſpades* a *Parthian* Nobleman was the firſt who came in to them, attended with a

[a] An. 6. c. 37.

great

great Number of Cavalry. This Lord had been formerly baniſhed out of the Country, and brought a conſiderable Aſſiſtance to *Tiberius* at the end of the *Dalmatian* War, in Recompence of which good Service he was made Citizen of *Rome*: After returning Home he was in greater Favour than ever, and made Governor of *Meſopotamia*. Next *Sinnaces* arrived in the *Roman* Camp, and after him *Abdageſes*, who brought with him all the Treaſures of *Artabanus*, and all his military Proviſions. *Vitellius* finding the Deſign was like to ſucceed, thought of returning; but firſt he exhorted *Tiridates* to follow the glorious Examples of his Grandfather *Phrahates*, and his Patron *Tiberius*; and conjured his Followers to preſerve their Allegiance to their Prince, and their Deference and Reſpect to the *Roman* Empire; and to act in all Things like Men of Honour and Fidelity: Then he repaſſed the River, and returned into *Syria* with his Legions, thinking it enough that he had carried the *Roman* Banner beyond the *Euphrates*.

[a] *Tiridates* was voluntarily received by the Cities through which he paſſed; *Nicephorius*, *Anthemuſias*, and many other Towns that had *Greek* Names impoſed on them by the *Macedonians* who founded them, opened their Gates to him, in Hopes of being treated more favourably by a Prince bred in the *Roman* Civility, than by *Artabanus*, whoſe Cruelty they abhorred. [b] But the City *Seleucia* ſurpaſſed all others in Flattery to the new King: This City was founded by *Seleucus*, and ſtill preſerves the Marks of its Origin, not being corrupted by the barbarous Cuſtoms of the neighbouring People. It is en-

[a] Tacit. An. l. 6. c. 41. [b] Ibid. c. 42.

compaſſed with Walls, and very powerful: Its Government conſiſts of a Body of three hundred Men, of the moſt conſiderable for their Wealth and Integrity, who form a kind of Senate: The People have a Share in the Government, and when they are united, deſpiſe the Power of the *Parthian* Empire: But their Diſſenſions render them ſubject to be enſlaved by any Prince who comes in to the Aſſiſtance of the weaker Faction. This was the Caſe of *Artabanus*, who inveſted the Government in the Hands of ſome few of the great Men to ſerve his own Intereſt; a popular Government, approaching too much to Liberty and the Dominion of ſome few great Men, reſembling more an arbitrary Monarchy. *Tiridates* on the contrary reinſtated the People in the Government, and was received with all the Honours of their antient Kings, together with thoſe which later Ages have added; and the City was full of his Panegyricks; and the moſt bitter Invectives againſt *Artabanus*, whom they reproached with degenerating from the Blood of the *Arſacidæ*, from which he was deſcended by the Mother's ſide. In the mean time, whilſt *Tiridates* was debating of a Day for his Coronation, he received Letters from *Phrahates* and *Hiero* two *Parthian* Noblemen, entreating him to defer that Ceremony till their Arrival. *Tiridates* was reſolved to attend their coming, willing to grant the Requeſt of Men who commanded two of the moſt conſiderable Provinces in the Kingdom, and advances to *Cteſiphon* the capital City of the Country: But they deferring from Day to Day, *Surena* (whoſe Right it was by deſcent) crowned him according to the

the antient Cuſtom of the Country, with great Applauſe of all the Spectators.

Ær. Arsac. 293. [a] If *Tiridates* had immediately entered into the Provinces ſituated in the Heart of the Kingdom, he would have ſecured the reſt which were dubious and wavering; but amuſing himſelf with the Siege of a Place where *Artabanus* had lodged his Treaſure and Concubines, he gave the contrary Faction reſpite to break their Agreements; for *Phrahates*, *Hiero*, and divers others who did not aſſiſt at his Coronation, either out of Fear or Jealouſy of *Abdageſes* and his Credit, who had the entire Direction of the young King, retreated into *Hircania* to *Artabanus*, whom they found in a miſerable Poverty, getting his Living by his Bow, after the Cuſtom of the Country. He was afraid at firſt that they were come to ſeize him; but when they had declared their Deſign, and aſſured him they would join their Endeavours to reſtore him, he demanded of them the Reaſon of this ſudden Change. [b] *Hiero* replied, the *Parthians* could no longer bear the Youth of a Prince corrupted with the Effeminacy of the *Roman* way of Living, who only had the Title of a King, while the Power was lodged in another Hand. *Artabanus*, matured by long Experience in the Arts of Government, ſoon perceived, that however falſe they had been to him before, they were now ſincere in their Hatred to *Tiridates*; and to prevent all Repentance, and the Deſigns of his Enemy, inſtantly rallies what broken Troops of the *Scythians* he could aſſemble, and marches with all Diligence; nor did he quit the miſerable Attire he was in, the

[a] Ibid. c. 43. [b] C 44.

more

more to move the Compaſſion of the *Parthians*. And now he ſpares no Promiſes, or Entreaties, or any Artifices, to gain over ſome, and confirm thoſe who were already well-affected to him; and he was in the Neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, whilſt *Tiridates* was debating whether he ſhould go out and fight him, or protract the War. Thoſe who were for making a ſpeedy Deciſion alledged, it would be an eaſy Matter to defeat Troops fatigued and haraſſed with the Length of their March, who were not yet unanimous in their Obedience to a Prince, whom they had ſo lately been Traytors and Rebels to: Others, of which Number was *Abdageſes*, were of Opinion, that they ſhould paſs the River and regain *Meſopotamia*, where they might raiſe the People of *Armenia* and *Elymæa*, and ſecure themſelves till they could join the Troops which the Confederates and the *Roman* General ſhould ſend to their Aſſiſtance. The Cowardice of *Tiridates* and the Authority of *Abdageſes* cauſed this Advice to be approved of: But this Retreat was taken for a Flight by thoſe of their Party, ſome of whom returned to their Houſes, and others deſerted to *Artabanus*. This Diſorder began in the Quarters of the *Arabians*, and ſoon prevailed through the whole Camp; inſomuch, that *Tiridates* being obliged for his Safety to retire into *Syria* with ſome few of his Friends, gave Leave to the reſt to retreat, without the Infamy of deſerting an Intereſt they had engaged themſelves to aſſert. [a] Thus was *Tiridates* expelled, and *Artabanus* once more placed upon the Throne of *Parthia*.

[a] Dio Caſſ. l. 58.

[a] This

[a] This Miſcarriage of *Tiridates* was like to have proved fatal to *Vitellius* the *Syrian* Governor; for after the Death of *Tiberius* he was ſent for to *Rome* by *Caius*, with a full Deſign to put him to Death. The Charge againſt him was, that he had ſuffered *Tiridates*, a King that *Tiberius* deſigned ſhould be over the *Parthians*, to be forced out of his Kingdom; and he was ſummoned to anſwer for this Accident; when he found that he was perſecuted by Envy, and was ready to be ſacrificed to the Diffidence of the Emperor, he ſaved himſelf by deſcending much below the Opinion that was entertained of him: He caſt himſelf at the Feet of the Emperor, moiſtened the Earth with his Tears, adored him as a God, and promiſed to ſacrifice to him, if he would be ſo merciful as to ſave his Life. By this Artifice he won upon *Caligula* to that Degree, that he not only obtained his Pardon, but became one of his moſt intimate Friends.

[b] The *Parthian* King had always a moſt deſpicable Opinion of *Tiberius* the *Roman* Emperor, upon the Account of his Barbarities and unnatural Luſts; and at this time being fluſh'd with the Victory he had obtained over *Tiridates*, that was ſupported by the *Roman* Arms, he ſent an Expreſs to the Emperor, charging him as guilty of Parricide, Murder, Cowardice and Luxury; and adviſed him by a voluntary Death to ſatisfy the juſt Indignation of the People with all convenient Speed. *Tiberius* ſoon after died, and was ſucceeded in the Empire by *Caius Caligula* the Son of *Germanicus*.

[a] Xiphlin. in Caio. [b] Sueton. in Tiberio.

[a] *Artabanus*

[a] *Artabanus* having composed the Affairs of his *Parthian* Kingdom, resolved to attempt the Recovery of *Armenia*, which he did with a good Body of Troops, and forced *Mithridates* the Brother of the *Armenian* King to fly.

[b] This Prince was soon afterwards sent for to *Rome* by the Emperor *Caius*, who first threw him into Chains, and afterwards banished him. This Success gave the *Parthians* Hopes that he might extend the Limits of his Empire to the utmost Bounds, and accordingly he determined to carry his Arms into *Syria*. To promote this Design, he made a League with *Herod*, the Son of *Herod* the Great, who was then Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, and had in his Power a Magazine of Arms, able to furnish seventy thousand Men; these military Stores the *Parthian* thought would be of great Use in his *Syrian* Expedition. *Artabanus* early in the Spring enters *Mesopotamia*, with a numerous and well-appointed Army; but *Lucius Vitellius* the President of *Syria* meeting him unexpectedly at the *Euphrates*, so astonished the *Parthian*, that he submitted to a Treaty, and proposed a Conference: The King and *Vitellius* met on the middle of a Bridge over the *Euphrates* with their Guards about them. This Transaction is placed by [c] *Josephus* under the Reign of *Tiberius*; but *Dio* and *Suetonius*, with more Truth, speak of it in the Life of his Successor. To the infinite Affection of the Citizens, says *Suetonius*, the no less Favour of Strangers was added; for *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, who had

[a] Dio Cass. lib. 59.
[b] Tacit. Annal. 11. c. 8.
[c] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 6. Sueton. in Caio.

expreſſed nothing but Hatred and Contempt of *Tiberius*, ſought himſelf the Friendſhip of *Caius*, and coming to a perſonal Conference with one of his Legates, who had been Conſul, he paſſed the *Euphrates*, adored the Eagles and other Enſigns of the *Romans*, and ſacrificed to the Images of *Auguſtus* and *Caius*. [a] At the Concluſion of the Treaty, that was much to the Advantage of the *Romans*, *Herod* the Tetrarch gave them both a very ſplendid and magnificent Treat, in a Tent that he had erected at a great Expence upon the ſame River; and *Artabanus* not long after ſent his Son *Darius* as an Hoſtage to *Caius*, with Variety of Preſents; and one among the reſt was a Man of ſeven Cubits in height, and by Profeſſion a *Jew*, whom they called *Eleazar* the Giant. *Vitellius* after this returned to *Antioch*, and *Artabanus* to *Babylon*. *Herod* was ſoon after accuſed by *Agrippa* the King of the *Jews*, for ſiding with the *Parthians*, and being in Perſon before the Emperor at *Baia*, and charged with having a Magazine of Arms for ſeveral thouſand Men, the Thing was too plain to be denied; and *Caius* requiring no farther Proof of the Treaſon, took away his Government and gave it to *Agrippa*, with his Money alſo, as a Reward for his Diſcovery.

ÆR. ARSAC. 294. [b] *Darius* the *Parthian* Hoſtage was a Preſent very agreeable to *Caius*, who treated him with a Reſpect ſuitable to his Dignity, and the Honour of his Deſcent. Beſides the ordinary Games, this Emperor (ſays *Suetonius*) invented one that was never heard of before; for having

[a] Joſeph. ibid.
[b] Sueton. in Caio. Dio Caſſ. lib. 59.

got together a vaſt Number of Boats, he faſtened them in a double Rank with their Anchors, all the Space between *Baia* and the Damms of *Puteoli*, and having covered them with Earth, he made a Bridge of three thouſand ſix hundred Paces, after the Faſhion of the *Via Appia*, upon which Bridge he paſſed to and fro two Days together; the firſt Day he was mounted upon a ſtately Horſe with rich Trappings, a Chaplet of oaken Branches upon his Head, his Battle-ax in one Hand, his Target in the other, his Sword by his Side, and his Imperial Mantle of Cloth of Gold upon his Shoulders: The next Day he appeared in the Habit of a Charioteer, in a Chariot drawn by two ſtately Horſes, carrying before him *Darius* a Youth, and one of the *Parthian* Hoſtages, attended by a Squadron of his Guards, and ſeveral of his Friends mounted likewiſe on their Chariots.

[a] The King of *Adiabena* at this time was *Izates*, a Convert to the *Jewiſh* Religion, who was preferred before his elder Brother by his Father's Will, and ſo obtained the Kingdom. At his Acceſſion he found ſome of his Brothers and others of his neareſt Relations cloſe Priſoners, in order to prevent Diſturbances, and ſecure the Peace of the State; he thought he could not in Conſcience either put them to Death or keep them in Chains; and on the other Hand he conſidered it might be dangerous to ſet them at Liberty under ſuch a Provocation to Revenge; ſo that he ſteer'd a middle Courſe, and ſent them away for Hoſtages, part with their Children to *Rome* to *Claudius Cæſar* who

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 2.

was now Emperor, and others to *Artabanus* the King of *Parthia*.

Ær. Arsac. 298. [a]The *Parthian* King during the Course of his Reign was disturbed by a powerful and factious Nobility; and at this Time they had formed a Conspiracy against him to dethrone him. *Artabanus* finding the Conspirators so strong, and the Plot so far advanced, that he durst not trust himself any longer in his own Kingdom, resolved to apply himself to *Izates* King of *Adiabena*, both for Advice and Assistance; so he drew together about a thousand Persons of his particular Friends and Relations, and taking the Way for *Adiabena*, he met *Izates* on the Road: He judged indeed it could be no other Person than the King, by the Magnificence of his Train and Equipage, for he did not know his Face. Upon advancing near him, he first saluted him after the manner of the Country, with a Reverence which they call Adoration; and then made himself and his Condition known to him in Words to this Effect. *Behold*, says he, *Great Prince, an humble Supplicant, and do not despise an Object of your generous Compassion. It has been my Misfortune to be cast down from a Throne of Majesty into a private and obscure State, which hath forced me to have recourse now to your Goodness for Succour; which I cannot despair of from a Prince that so well understands the Vicissitudes of human Affairs; and how soon my present Case may come to be your own, as your present Degree of Elevation was formerly mine. Besides, it is the common Interest of all Princes to help one another, for the Success of one Rebellion passes for a Precedent, and an Encouragement*

[a] Joseph. ibid.

to

to more when the People are grown insolent by Success. These Words were accompanied with dejected Looks and Tears. *Izates* came by this time to understand that his Petitioner was no less than *Artabanus* the King of *Parthia*; and so leaping down to him from his Horse, he desired him to recollect his Spirits, and comfort himself with this Assurance, that the Wound was not incurable, and that Providence would put a speedy End to his present Distress. *Prince*, said he, *you may depend upon it that you shall find a more considerable Friend and Ally than perhaps you are aware of, for I will either see you restored to your Crown, or I will give you my own.* Upon these Words *Izates* mounted *Artabanus* upon his own Horse, and walk'd on Foot by his Side, in Acknowledgment of the Duty he owed to the Great King. But *Artabanus* was so ashamed of the Compliment, that he protested, by all the Hopes he had of recovering his Fortune and Dignity, that he would dismount, unless the other would get up again and go before him. *Izates* then in Compliance with his Resolution took Horse again and conducted him into his Palace, with all the Honour and Deference that it was possible for one Prince to pay to another. He gave him the Precedence in all Cases private and publick, and at all Collations and Meetings, with a Regard still to his former Greatness and Glory, and without any Abatement for his change of Fortune; considering the Inconstancy of Fate that attends mortal Men, and that what one Man unfortunately suffers to Day, may very soon fall to be the Lot of another.

[a] The Thoughts of *Izates* being wholly employed to ſerve the Intereſt of *Artabanus*, he wrote a preſſing and effectual Letter to the *Parthians* to call their King Home again, offering to engage himſelf upon his Honour for their Indemnity, and that all paſt Injuries ſhould be forgiven and forgotten. Their Anſwer was rather an Excuſe than a Refuſal; for they ſaid they had given the Crown to one *Cinnamus*, ſo that it was out of their Power to receive him; beſides, that the Attempt of ſuch a Revocation would put all Things into a Flame. This *Cinnamus* that was placed in the *Parthian* Throne being a Perſon very generous, juſt and grateful in his Nature, and having received his Education under the Care and Direction of *Artabanus*, found out the Inclinations of the Nobility, and gave this Anſwer, that *Artabanus* might return when he pleaſed, and he would be anſwerable for his Security and Reception. *Artabanus* made no Difficulty of venturing himſelf upon this Aſſurance, and ſo went back again. *Cinnamus* met him upon the Way, paid his Reverence to him in form, and ſaluting him in the Style of a King, took the Crown off from his own Head, and placed it upon the Head of *Artabanus*. This was the manner of his being reſtored to his Kingdom by the means of *Izates*, after he had been forced out of it by a Faction of his own People. *Artabanus* expreſſed his Gratitude to his Benefactor, by a return of all honourable Duties and Reſpects: He gave him the Privilege of wearing ſuch a *Tiara*, and of having ſuch a ſort of Bed as only the Kings of *Parthia* had a peculiar

[a] Ibid.

Right

Right to uſe: He beſtowed upon him the Country of *Niſibis*, formerly belonging to the Kings of *Armenia*, a large and a fruitful Territory. Theſe were the Acknowledgments that *Izates* received from *Artabanus*, for aſſiſting him in the Recovery of his Kingdom. But he did not long ſurvive this Change of Fortune, for he ſoon died, after a Reign full of Revolutions, of about eight and twenty Years. ÆR. AR. JAC. 299.

THE REIGN OF Arsaces Gotarzes.

Ær. Arsac. 299.

ARTABANUS III.[a] left three Sons at his Death, *Gotarzes*, *Bardanes* or *Vardanes*, and *Artabanus*; the eldest was put by, and as *Josephus* observes, he left by his Will his Son *Bardanes* to succeed him in his Kingdom. But the Crown of *Parthia* being hereditary, if the next Heir be of Age sufficient to reign, the Nobility insisted upon the original Institution of their Government, and placed *Gotarzes* in the Throne; *Bardanes*, to prevent any Disturbance, was removed to a great Distance from the Court, and left his Brother in Possession of the Empire.

[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. c. 2. Tacit. An. 11. c. 8.

[a] *Gotarzes*

[a]*Gotarzes* no ſooner found himſelf fixed in the Sovereignty, but he gave his People a cruel and bloody Proſpect of his future Reign. His firſt Attempt was upon the Lives of his Brother *Artabanus*, his Wife and Son, which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into his Subjects, eſpecially his Nobility, that they conſpired to dethrone him, and they call'd in *Bardanes* to ſupport them. He was a Prince, ſays *Tacitus*, always ready to enterpriſe any great Action, and in the Space of two Days he marched three thouſand *Stadia*, and drove *Gotarzes*, who was terrified at his Approach, and knew nothing of the Deſign, quite out of his Kingdom. He immediately upon this Succeſs made himſelf Maſter of the adjacent Provinces, finding none but the *Seleucians* who refuſed to receive him; againſt whom he marched more incenſed with Rage than the preſent Poſture of his Affairs required; becauſe they had revolted againſt his Father, and he ſate down before a City ſtrongly ſituated, defended by a River, and a Wall provided with every thing neceſſary for a Siege. In the mean time *Gotarzes*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Dahæ* and *Hircanians*, recruits his Forces, and renews the War, upon which *Bardanes*, forced for the preſent to quit the Siege of *Seleucia*, marches and encamps upon the Plains of *Bactria*. He was followed cloſe by *Gotarzes*, and the *Parthian* Generals on both ſides going to engage, a Conſpiracy was diſcovered by *Gotarzes*, carried on by their own People againſt them both. They had now no longer an Inclination to fight, but entering into a cloſe Confederacy, they joined their Hands, and ſwore ſolemnly at

[a] Tacit. ibid. c. 9.

the

the Altars of their Gods to revenge the Treachery of their Enemies, and to have a reciprocal Regard and Reſpect for one another. *Bardanes* was thought moſt proper to keep Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, whilſt *Gotarzes*, that he might give no Jealouſy, retired to the farther part of *Hircania*.

[a] The Affairs of the Eaſt, eſpecially among the *Parthians*, being in this diſtracted and uncertain Poſture, *Claudius* the *Roman* Emperor thought proper to recal *Mithridates* that was ſent into Baniſhment by *Caius*, and ſend him into *Armenia* to make an Attempt upon that Kingdom. In this Expedition he was ſupported by *Pharaſmanes* his Brother the King of *Hiberia*, and ſome *Roman* Troops, who took the ſtrong Holds and Gariſons, whilſt the *Hiberian* Army kept the Field and ravaged the Country. He was oppoſed by the *Armenians*, under the Command of one *Demonax*, but their General being ſlain, they all ſubmitted; *Cotys* the King of the Leſſer *Armenia* hindered his Progreſs for a time; but he was reſtrained by Letters from *Claudius* the Emperor; ſo that every thing ſeemed to favour *Mithridates*, now (ſays the Hiſtorian) grown more bloody than he ought to be in a Kingdom newly conquered. *Gotarzes* kept Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Parthia* about two Years, before he reſigned to his Brother, and retired into *Hircania*.

[a] Tacit. An. 11. c. 8, 9.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Bardanes.

UPON [a] the Concluſion of a Peace with his Brother, the Sovereignty of *Parthia* came into the Hands of *Bardanes*, and from that Event I ſhall date the beginning of his Reign. He firſt ſet himſelf to compoſe the Diſturbances that fell out in the Heart of his Kingdom, and then he marched his Army to chaſtiſe the *Seleucians*, whom he at laſt forced to a Surrender, after they had held out ſeven Years, not without Diſgrace to the *Parthian* Arms, that had been eluded for ſo long a time by one City. [b] After this he enters the Provinces that were moſt fortified, and made an Attempt to recover *Armenia*; and perhaps he might have ſucceeded, if he had ÆR. ARSAC. 300.

[a] Tacit. An. 11. c. 9. [b] Ibid. c. 10.

not

not been prevented by *Vibius Marsus*, Lieutenant of *Syria* (or rather *Cassius Longinus*, according to *Josephus*) who threatened to declare War against him.

[a] This Disappointment he resolved to revenge upon the *Romans*, and for that Purpose he applied to *Izates* the King of *Adiabena* to try if he could engage him with him in a War against them. But *Izates* was too well acquainted with the Strength and Conduct of those People, to be drawn into a League against so powerful an Enemy; besides (says *Josephus*) having five Sons trained up among them to learn their Language and Discipline, and his Mother being a constant Woman at her Devotions in the Temple, he had some sort of Tie upon him of Honour as well as Discretion not to be concerned in this Matter: And as he was utterly against it himself, so he used his Endeavour to take off *Bardanes*, by perpetually insisting upon the wonderful Strength, the Courage and Exploits of the *Romans*, on Purpose to discourage him from his Design by such Relations. But so far was the *Parthian* from being intimidated, that he took it for a Bravado, and immediately made War upon *Izates*: But as Providence was pleased to order that Matter for the humbling of his Vanity, the Enterprise proved fatal to him, for when the *Parthians* found their King resolved to quarrel with the *Romans*, they took Opportunity to cut him off, and placed his Brother *Gotarzes* upon the Throne. This is the Account given by *Josephus*, which proves false from the relation of

ÆR. ARSAC. 302.

[a] Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 2.

Tacitus,

Tacitus, as will appear when we come to the Concluſion of his Reign.

[a] In the time of this Prince, that vile Impoſtor and Magician *Apollonius* of *Tyana* came to *Babylon* in his Journey to *India*, where, as *Philoſtratus* relates in his Life, he had many Conferences with King *Bardanes*, which I confeſs are for the moſt part tedious and inſignificant enough; but as ſomething of the *Parthian* Cuſtoms and Manners is occaſionally mentioned, and as nothing ought to be omitted that may illuſtrate this Hiſtory, and the Lives and Diſpoſitions of the *Parthian* Kings, I ſhall not paſs over that Writer without taking Notice of the Subſtance of what he delivers upon this Subject.

'*Apollonius* (ſays *Philoſtratus*) having made 'his Entrance into *Babylon* with his Compani-'on *Damis*, the Officer that guarded the great 'Gates having heard that he was come only to 'ſee the City, preſented to him the King's 'golden Image, which if any one refuſed to 'adore he might not be admitted Entrance; 'only thoſe that came Embaſſadors from the '*Roman* Emperors were exempted from this 'Ceremony. *Apollonius* beholding the Image 'asked who it was; and when they told him 'it was the King, he replied, The Man whom 'ye worſhip in this manner, if I commend 'him, as appearing to be a good and virtuous 'Prince, it ſhall be a great Honour to him; 'and having thus ſpoken he paſſed through 'the Gates. But the Officer admiring at the 'Man followed him, and taking him by the 'Hand, asked him by an Interpreter what was 'his Name, his Family, his Employment, and

[a] Philoſtrat. de Vit. Apollin. lib. 9. c. 33, 34, &c.

the

'the Cauſe of his coming into thoſe Parts. 'Then ſetting down *Apollonius*'s Anſwer in a 'writing Table, together with his Habit and 'Feature, he ordered him to ſtay, when run-'ning to the Men that are called the *King's* '*Ears*, he deſcribes *Apollonius* to them, telling 'that he would not adore the King's Image, 'and was unlike to other Men: Upon which 'they commanded the Officer to bring him in 'an honourable manner before them, and to 'offer him no Affront: Who being come, the 'eldeſt Man asked him what it was that made 'him thus ſlight the King? He anſwered, I 'have not yet ſlighted him. The Man asking 'him, but would you ſlight him? By *Jove* I 'may do ſo, ſaid *Apollonius*, if by converſing 'with him I find him not to be a good and virtu-'ous Perſon. Do you bring the King any Pre-'ſents, ſaid the Man? I bring, ſaid *Apollonius*, 'Fortitude, Juſtice, and the like. Do you, ſaid the 'other, bring theſe to the King, ſuppoſing him 'deſtitute of them? By *Jove*, ſaid *Apollonius*, only 'as to one that ſhall learn how to uſe them if 'he has them. The King, ſays the Man, has 'by the Uſe of ſuch Virtues both recovered 'his loſt Kingdom, which thou ſeeſt, and re-'gained his Palace, not without much Toil and 'Trouble. How many Years is it ſince he 'recovered his Kingdom? ſaid *Apollonius*. The 'other anſwered, two Years and two Months. 'Hereupon *Apollonius* raiſing his Voice (as he 'in like Caſes was uſed to do) ſaid, O Keeper 'of the King's Perſon (or by what Title ſo-'ever you are called) *Darius* the Father of '*Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes* having poſſeſſed this 'Kingdom about ſixty Years, when he ſuſpect-'ed that the end of his Life drew near, is re-

'ported

'ported to have ſacrificed to Juſtice, and to 'have ſaid theſe Words, *O Lady whoſoever 'thou art!* as having a long time been a Lover 'of Juſtice, but not yet knowing nor poſſeſ-'ſing her, in that he educated his Children ſo 'fooliſhly, as that they waged War upon one 'another, and one was wounded the other ſlain.

'But you (though the King perhaps ſcarcely 'knows how to ſit in the kingly Throne) 'ſuppoſe him to have already acquired all kinds 'of Virtue, and ſo blow up his Vanity be-'yond Meaſure: If he become better than he 'is, I bring Profit to you, and not to my ſelf. 'Upon which another Barbarian ſtanding by, 'looking upon *Apollonius*, ſaid, this Man was 'brought hither as a Preſent from the Gods; 'for ſo good a Man as this, converſing with 'ſo good a Man as the King, will make him 'far better, more modeſt, and of a ſweeter Diſ-'poſition, for he ſeems to have more Perfec-'tions than other Men. They ran therefore 'to divulge this good News; and when the 'King heard of it, he was offering up Sacri-'fice in the Preſence of the Magicians (for ſa-'cred Rites are performed by their Direction) 'wherefore calling one of them, he ſaid to 'him, I perceive my Dream is out which I 'related to you this Day, when you came to 'viſit me as I lay in Bed; for ſuch a Dream as 'this happened to the King; he ſeemed to him-'ſelf to be *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes*, and 'that his Countenance was changed to be like 'his. The King therefore was much afraid, 'leſt his Affairs ſhould fall into ſome Alterati-'on, interpreting to that Purpoſe the Change 'of his Countenance. But when he had far-'ther heard that the Stranger that was come

'was

'was a *Greek*, and a wiſe Man, he called to
'mind the Story of *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*,
'who ſometime coming out of *Greece* con-
'verſed with *Artaxerxes*, and did improve the
'King as well as diſcover his own Worth:
'Wherefore ſtretching forth his right Hand,
'ordered him to call in the Man, that ſo he
'might both ſacrifice and pray with him.

'[a] Upon this *Apollonius* made his Entrance,
'being attended with a numerous Train; for
'by this means they thought to gratify the
'King, becauſe they perceived he was much
'delighted with his coming. When he came into
'the Palace he did not ſo much as caſt an Eye
'upon thoſe Things which were admired by
'others, but paſſing by them unconcerned, as
'if he were travelling, he diſcourſed with his
'Companion *Damis* of other Things. The
'King ſeeing him come (for the Court of the
'Temple was ſomewhat large) ſpake to his
'Attendants as if he knew the Man; and when
'he drew near he ſpoke with a loud Voice.
'This is *Apollonius*, whom my Brother *Me-*
'*gabetes* ſaid he ſaw at *Antioch*, honoured and
'admired by all good Men; for he then de-
'ſcribed him to be ſuch a one as the Perſon I
'now ſee. *Apollonius* coming to the King, and
'ſaluting him, the King ſpake to him in *Greek*,
'and ordered him to ſacrifice to the Gods with
'him; for he was then about to offer a choice
'*Niſæan* Horſe to the Sun, having adorned
'him as if he was to be led in Pomp. *Apollo-*
'*nius* anſwered, Do you, O King, ſacrifice af-
'ter your manner, and give me leave to ſacri-
'fice after mine. Thus ſaying he took Frank-

[a] Philoſt. ibid.

'incenſe, and ſaid, *O Sun conduct me ſo far,* 'as it ſeemeth good to me and thee, and let me 'know virtuous Men, but as for the Wicked let 'me neither know them nor they me. When he 'had thus ſpoken he threw the Frankincenſe 'into the Fire, and then beholding how the 'Smoke aſcended, what Turnings it made, 'and with how many Heads it lifted up itſelf, 'and obſerving likewiſe that the Fire appeared 'of a good Omen, he ſaid to the King, do 'you now ſacrifice according to the Cuſtom 'of your Country, for I have obſerved the 'Faſhion that we have; thereupon he with-'drew himſelf from the Sacrifice, that he 'might have nothing to do with Blood.

'When the Sacrifice was ended, he return-'ed to the King again, ſaying, O King, are 'you acquainted with all the *Greek* Tongue, 'or only with an imperfect part of it, ſo much 'only as will ſerve you to converſe if a *Grecian* 'comes to viſit you. I underſtand the whole 'Language, ſaid he, as well as my Mother 'Tongue, wherefore ſpeak what you pleaſe, 'for that is the Reaſon why you ask. It is ſo 'indeed, replied *Apollonius*, therefore hearken 'to what I ſhall ſay. The Intention of my 'Journey is to viſit the *Indians*, but I was un-'willing to paſs by you, hearing you to be 'ſuch a Man as I now apparently perceive you 'are, and deſiring to underſtand the Wiſdom 'which the Magicians among you do profeſs, 'that is, whether they are ſo exquiſitely skilled 'in divine Matters as they are ſaid to be. As 'for me I am addicted to the Wiſdom of *Py-'thagoras* the *Samian*, who taught me in 'this manner to worſhip the Gods, and to un-'derſtand from them both the Things that are

'ſeen, and thoſe that are not ſeen; alſo to talk
'with the Gods, and clothe my ſelf with this
'Fleece of Earth, which was not ſhorn from
'the Sheep's Back, but ſprings up purely from
'the pure, being the Gift of Water and Earth,
'even made of Linen: Likewiſe the length of
'my Hair was taken up from *Pythagoras*; as
'alſo my Abſtinence from living Creatures
'comes to me from his Wiſdom; wherefore
'you muſt not expect that in drinking and re-
'velling I ſhould be a Companion, to you,
'or any other. As for doubtful and intricate
'Matters I can reſolve them, for I do not only
'know but alſo foreknow the Things that are
'to be done. The King replied, that he was
'more pleaſed with his coming than if he had
'added the Riches of the *Perſians* or *Indians*
'to his own Wealth, and that he made him his
'Gueſt and Partaker of his Royal Court.
'*Apollonius* anſwered, if you ſhould come into
'my Country *Thyana*, and I ſhould entreat
'you to abide in the Houſe where I inhabited,
'would you do ſo? No, by *Jove*, ſaid the
'King, unleſs it were ſuch a Houſe as would
'conveniently receive me and all my Attend-
'ants. The ſame is my Caſe, ſaid *Apollonius*,
'for ſhould I dwell in a Houſe unſuitable to
'my Condition, I could not live at Eaſe; for
'all Exceſs is more afflicting to wiſe Men, than
'any Defect is to you great Ones; wherefore
'I had rather be entertained by ſome private
'Man that is my Equal, notwithſtanding I will
'be as frequent with you as you pleaſe. The
'King condeſcended to his Requeſt, that he
'might not diſpleaſe him, appointing a certain
'honeſt and good *Babylonian* to entertain him.
'Now as they were at Supper an Eunuch

‘ one of the King's Meſſengers came to them
‘ with this Meſſage to *Apollonius*. The
‘ King gives you the Liberty to ask of him
‘ twelve Favours, ſuch as you pleaſe your ſelf;
‘ entreating you that they may not be ſmall
‘ ones, becauſe he is willing that you ſhould
‘ taſte of his Munificence as we do. *Apollonius*
‘ commending the Meſſage, asked him when it
‘ would be ſeaſonable to make his Demands.
‘ The Eunuch replied to morrow; and beſides
‘ went to all the Friends and Kinſmen of the
‘ King, and enjoined them to be preſent with
‘ the Petitioner, as a Man whom the King ſo
‘ much honoured. But *Damis*, ſaid he, un-
‘ derſtood *Apollonius* would ask nothing, in that
‘ he knew his Diſpoſition, and had ſometimes
‘ heard him pray to the Gods in this manner;
‘ *O ye Gods, grant me to have a few Things, and*
‘ *to have need of none.*

‘ [a] On the morrow the Eunuch came to *Apol-*
‘ *lonius* to introduce him to the King, to whom
‘ he anſwered, that he would come ſo ſoon as
‘ he had finiſhed to his Deſire what concerned
‘ the Gods; accordingly, having offered his
‘ Prayers and Oblations he approached the
‘ King, in ſuch a Garb and Habit, as procured
‘ the Admiration of the Spectators. When he
‘ was come into the Preſence, the King ſaid to
‘ him, I give you ten Favours, ask what you
‘ will, for I judge you to be ſuch a Man as
‘ never before came out of *Greece*. To which
‘ *Apollonius* anſwered, O King, I refuſe not all
‘ your Gifts, but there is one that I would ask
‘ rather than many Tens; I pray therefore let
‘ not the *Eretrians* (a People of *Eubæa* remov-

[a] Ibid.

'ed by *Darius* into *Perſia*) be driven out of 'their Borders, and the Place that has been 'aſſigned them, but confirm them in that Por-'tion of Land which *Darius* had appointed for 'them. The King complying with his Re-'queſt, ſaid, The *Eretrians* till of late have 'been Enemies to me and to my Anceſtors, by 'which means their whole Generation is al-'moſt extinct, but for the time to come they 'ſhall be ſet down among my Friends, and I 'will appoint a good Governor over them who 'ſhall do them Right, as touching the Place 'aſſigned them. But why will you not ac-'cept the other nine Gifts? Becauſe, ſaid *Apol-'lonius*, I have as yet acquired no Friends here. 'But do you want nothing your ſelf, ſaid the 'King? Yes, ſaid *Apollonius*, Bread and Fruits, 'which are to me the moſt delightful Enter-'tainment in the World.

'[a] As they were thus diſcourſing a great 'Noiſe was heard in the Palace among the 'Eunuchs and the King's Women, for a cer-'tain Eunuch was found lying with one of the 'King's Concubines, and acting as Adulterers 'are uſed to do, upon which they dragged 'him about the Chamber by the Hair of his 'Head. But when the eldeſt of the Eunuchs 'related that he had long ſince obſerved this 'Eunuch to be in Love with that Woman, 'and therefore had forewarned him not to ſpeak 'with her, nor touch her Neck or Hand, and 'to abſtain from dreſſing her only of all that 'were within the Chamber; nevertheleſs he 'had now found him lying with her, and do-'ing the Work of a Man. The King ſaid to

[a] Ibid.

'the

'the Standers by, it is a Shame that we ſhould in
'the Preſence of *Apollonius* attempt to diſcourſe
'of Modeſty or Chaſtity, and not refer the
'Determination of ſuch Matters to him: What
'therefore do you, *Apollonius*, appoint this
'Eunuch to ſuffer? *Apollonius*, contrary to the
'Opinion of all that were preſent, anſwered,
'What elſe but to live? At that the King bluſh-
'ing, replied, Think you that ſuch a Fellow is
'not worthy of many Deaths, who durſt violate
'my Bed? But, ſaid *Apollonius*, I ſpake not
'this for his Pardon, but for his Puniſhment,
'which ſhall gnaw him continually: For if the
'Love-ſick Eunuch be permitted to live, long-
'ing for Impoſſibilities, neither will his Meat
'nor Drink pleaſe him, nor thoſe Shews which
'give great Content to you and his Attend-
'ants. Beſides, his Heart will often pant,
'whilſt his Sleep ſuddenly departs from him,
'as it uſually happens to thoſe that are in
'Love; and what Conſumption can ſo pine
'away, or what Peſtilence can ſo fret? Nay,
'if he be not a very Coward, he will often
'ſupplicate you to kill him, or elſe will diſ-
'patch himſelf, much lamenting that he was
'not put to death at firſt. Such was the An-
'ſwer of *Apollonius*, ſo wiſe and ſo mild, that
'the King permitted the Eunuch to live.

'[1] The King afterwards going abroad to
'hunt in the Parks, where Lions, Bears and
'Panthers were encloſed for the Barbarians,
'asked *Apollonius* whether he would go a hunt-
'ing with him. *Apollonius* anſwered, you have
'forgotten, O King, that I would not be pre-
'ſent with you whilſt you ſacrificed; beſides,

[1] Ibid.

'it is no pleasing thing to look on while Beasts
'are tortured and brought into Bondage, con-
'trary to their own Nature. Then the King
'demanding of him by what means he might
'reign firmly and securely. *Apollonius* answer-
'ed, if you honour many and trust few. When
'a certain Prince of *Syria* had sent Envoys to
'him concerning two Towns that lay near
'the Confines of his Country, representing
'that they had some time belonged to *Antio-*
'*chus* and *Seleucus*, but now were under his
'Jurisdiction, as being part of the *Roman* Em-
'pire: And though the *Arabians* and *Arme-*
'*nians* durst not make any Attempt upon
'those Towns, yet the King had invaded them,
'that he might enjoy the Profit of so remote
'a Country, as belonging rather to him than
'to the *Romans*: The King having caused the
'Embassadors to withdraw a little, said to
'*Apollonius*, these Towns were by the afore-
'said Kings granted to my Ancestors, for the
'breeding of these wild Beasts, which being
'taken by us, pass over the *Euphrates* to them;
'but they forgetting these Circumstances, seek
'after unjust Innovations, what therefore think
'you, *Apollonius*, is the meaning of this Em-
'bassy? *Apollonius* replied, their Meaning seems
'very fair and reasonable, if being able to re-
'tain the Possession of those Towns situate in
'their Confines whether you will or no, they
'had rather receive them from you of your
'own accord. He farther added, that he
'ought not for the sake of certain Towns (than
'which many private Persons have possessed
'greater) to enter into Contention with the
'*Romans*, or to undertake a War upon so small
'an Occasion.

'About

'[a] About this time the King fell ſick, and '*Apollonius* ſtanding by him delivered ſo great 'and ſo divine Things concerning the Soul, 'that the King raiſing his Courage, ſaid to the 'Standers by, that *Apollonius* by his Words 'had cauſed him not only to contemn a King-'dom, but even Death itſelf. The King re-'covered, and converſing with *Apollonius*, he 'told him, among other things, that he had 'ſpent two Days hearing and determining Cau-'ſes. *Apollonius* anſwered, you were very ſlow 'in finding out what was juſt. The King at 'length gave him leave to depart; and *Apollo-'nius* reflecting that he had received no Gifts 'of the King, he ſaid to him, beſt of Kings, 'I have hitherto beſtowed no Reward upon 'my Hoſt; I ought likewiſe to make ſome re-'turn to the Magicians: My Requeſt there-'fore is, that you would be mindful of them, 'and for my ſake take care of them, being 'wiſe Men, and full of Good-will towards 'you. [b] The King being exceedingly well 'pleaſed, told him, they ſhould not fail to 'taſte of his Royal Favours; and ſo providing 'him with Camels, and a Guide for his Jour-'ney, he diſmiſs'd him. *Apollonius* returned 'from *India* after eight Months, and coming to '*Bardanes*, he was received with the ſame 'Courteſy and Reſpect.' This is the Account given by *Philoſtratus*, which notwithſtanding the Opinion of thoſe who give Credit to him in favour of *Apollonius*, ſeems to me to be a Fiction, and of no manner of Authority, which is eaſy to be proved by Arguments too ſtrong to be oppoſed. But to return to the proper Matter of the Hiſtory.

ÆR. ÆR-SAC. 303.

[a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 8.

[a] *Bardanes* having engaged without Succeſs againſt *Izates* King of the *Adiabeni*, the King of *Media Atropatia* (ſo called from *Atropatius* ſet over that Province by *Darius*, and unſubdued by *Alexander*) declares War againſt him in favour of *Gotarzes* that was in Exile, with a full Deſign to reſtore him to the Throne of *Parthia*; but this Enterpriſe was ſo far from ſucceeding, that he was driven out of his own Kingdom by the *Parthian* King, and his Country given to *Vonones* his Uncle (the younger Brother of *Artabanus* III.) who was the firſt Governor of *Media* of the *Arſacian* Line, and after the Death of *Gotarzes* was called in to ſucceed him in the *Parthian* Empire. [b] *Bardanes* having finiſhed this War, ſet himſelf to improve and adorn the Village of *Cteſiphon*, where the *Parthian* Kings had their Court in the Winter, for in the Summer they reſided in the City of *Ecbatane*. This Village was pleaſantly ſituated near the City of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, that was the old *Babylon*, and the Capital of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy: It was of a large Extent, and ſufficient to accommodate the Nobility, and all the great Officers of the Kingdom; and to make it the more agreeable and magnificent, he planted it with ſtately Trees and ſhady Groves, and added many other Ornaments, that it might be ſuitable to entertain the King and the States of ſo great an Empire.

Gotarzes (ſays the [c] Hiſtorian) repenting that he had ſo eaſily reſigned his Kingdom, was cal-

[a] Philoſtrat. lib. 1. c. 15.
[b] Ammian. Marcell. Hiſt. lib. 23.
[c] Tacit. An. lib. 11. c. 10.

led

led in by the *Parthian* Nobility (who are more Slaves in time of Peace than of War) and with a great Force attempts the Recovery of the Crown. *Bardanes* marches againſt him, and meets him at the River *Charindas*, that parts *Media* and *Hircania*; the Paſſage was warmly diſputed for ſome time, but *Bardanes* proving victorious, he puſhed his good Fortune to that Degree, that he conquered all thoſe Countries that lie between that River and the River *Sindes*, which divides the *Dahi* from the *Arij*. Here were the utmoſt Bounds of his ſucceſs; for the *Parthians*, though Victors, refuſed to make War ſo far from their own Country. Stately Monuments were erected at a vaſt Expence, as Teſtimonies of his Grandeur and his Conqueſts; and having never heard that any Tribute was paid by theſe Nations to any of the *Arſacian* Family, he marches back full of Glory, but ſwoln with Pride, and more intolerable to his Subjects than ever for his Cruelty. A Conſpiracy was ſoon formed againſt him; and the Deſign being laid beforehand, the Traitors ſurprized him as he was hunting and keen after the Sport, knocked him on the Head in the Bloom of his Youth, and in greater Reputation than any of his Anceſtors, had he endeavoured to make himſelf beloved by his Subjects, as he did to be feared by his Enemies. He died in the fourth Year of his Reign.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Gotarzes.

Ær. Arsac. 303.

THE [a] *Parthian* Affairs falling into great Confuſion upon the Death of *Bardanes*, the States of the Kingdom were unreſolved whom they ſhould chuſe to ſucceed him; ſome of the Nobility were for calling in *Gotarzes*, others were for applying to the *Romans* to ſend them *Meherdates* the Son of *Vonones*, and Grandſon of *Phrahates* IV. who was then a Hoſtage at *Rome*. But the Intereſt of *Gotarzes* at laſt prevailed, who no ſooner found himſelf upon the Throne, but his Pride and Cruelty made him inſupportable to his Subjects, and obliged them to ſend Embaſſadors privately to *Claudius* the *Roman* Emperor, and deſire he would permit *Meherdates* to

[a] Tacit. Annal. lib. 11. c. 10.

return

return and take Poſſeſſion of his Father's Kingdom.

[a] The Embaſſadors came into the Senate, and delivered their Commiſſion in theſe Terms; *We come hither, remembring well the Treaties ſubſiſting between this State and us, and the Allegiance we owe to the Royal Line of the* Arſacidæ; *deſiring you would give to us the Son of* Vonones *and Grandſon of* Phrahates, *to deliver us from the Tyranny of* Gotarzes, *grown inſupportable to the Nobility and Commonalty of our Nation; who having murdered his Brother and all his collateral Relations, and ſpared not even teeming Women or ſucking Children; good for nothing at Home, and unfortunate Abroad, thinks to palliate his Cowardice with Blood: The ancient Alliance between this Republick and Us, and the mutual Promiſes to aſſiſt each other againſt thoſe who rival'd us in Glory, are ſtill in our Minds; wherefore the Royal Children were given as Hoſtages to* Rome, *that in caſe we ſhould grow weary of thoſe who governed at Home, we might have Recourſe to the Prince and the Senate to ſend us a better King, brought up amongſt you, and acquainted with your Cuſtoms.*

[b] When the Embaſſadors had ended, *Cæſar* began to harangue upon the Occaſion; inſiſting, firſt upon the *Roman* Grandeur, and the good Offices of the *Parthians*, comparing himſelf to divine *Auguſtus*, and telling them they once asked a King of that great Emperor, induſtriouſly leaving out *Tiberius*, though Embaſſadors had been ſent to him upon the ſame Account: Then turning to *Meherdates* who

[a] Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. c. 10.
[b] Ibid. c. 11.

ſtood

ſtood by him he gave him ſome Inſtructions, adviſing him not to look upon himſelf as a Maſter that was going to command his Slaves, but a Governor, and they his Citizens; to ſhew Clemency and Juſtice, which would make him more acceptable to that People, as being Virtues they were unacquainted with; and then ſpeaking to the Embaſſadors, he highly commended the Modeſty the young Prince ſhewed upon all Occaſions, who had received his Education among them; and told them, that the Humours of Kings ought to be born with, for frequent Changes and Revolutions were deſtructive of all Governments: That *Rome* was arrived at that height of Glory, as to deſire that foreign Nations might enjoy the ſame Peace and Happineſs with themſelves. Upon this he gave command to *Caius Caſſius* Governor of *Syria*, that he ſhould conduct the young Prince as far as the Banks of the *Euphrates*.

[a] This *Caſſius* was noted for his ſtrict Care of military Diſcipline; for he exerciſed the Legions, and ſhewed himſelf as diligent and active when the Army was not engaged in a War, as if the Enemy were ready to attack him; this Conduct he thought was worthy of his Anceſtors and Family, that were celebrated even among the *Parthians*. He encamped at *Zeugma*, where the *Euphrates* was eaſieſt to be paſſed; and here he made a general Muſter of all who were for having a King from the *Romans*. Here he found the *Parthian* Chiefs, and *Abgarus* King of the *Arabians*, or *Edeſſenians*. *Caſſius* was for entring immediately upon Action; and told *Meherdates* his Opinion, that the Edge of the

[a] Ibid. c. 12.

Parthian

Parthian Courage would naturally wear off by Delay, and turn into Treachery, and therefore adviſed him to puſh on the Reſolutions he had taken. This Advice had no Effect, by Reaſon of the Treachery of *Abgarus* the *Arabian*, who inſtead of purſuing the Deſign with Vigour, amuſed the unexperienced young Prince (who thought the greateſt of his Happineſs conſiſted in Luxury) with the Delights of his Palace in the City *Edeſſa*, where he kept him for ſeveral Days; and when *Carrhenes* a *Parthian* Nobleman ſent to *Meherdates* to advance with all Expedition, for Things ſtood right to his Advantage, and nothing was wanting but his Preſence; inſtead of marching directly thro' *Meſopotamia*, he was perſuaded to fetch a Compaſs about by *Armenia*, a Country at that time almoſt impracticable, becauſe Winter was begun.

[a] After ſeveral tedious Days marching through Snow and over Mountains, as they were entring upon the Plains, *Carrhenes* joined them with a good Body of Troops, and paſſing the *Tigris* they fell into the Country of the *Adiabeni*, whoſe King *Izates*, in Appearance, declared for *Meherdates*, though underhand he was more faithfully obliged to *Gotarzes*. Notwithſtanding, *Meherdates* in his March took the Town of *Nineve*, the antient Reſidence of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, and ſtormed *Arbela*, a Caſtle remarkable in that *Alexander* and *Darius* fought their laſt Battel near it, in which the *Perſians* were entirely defeated. *Gotarzes* was not remiſs in his Defence, but advanced with what Forces he could procure to meet the Enemy;

[a] Ibid. c. 13.

and coming to the Mountain *Sambulos* he worſhiped the Gods of the Place, of whom *Hercules* is moſt adored. This Deity (ſays *Tacitus*) at a certain time orders the Prieſts while they are aſleep to get hunting Horſes ready at his Temple, when they have Quivers filled with Arrows put upon their Backs, they ſcower about the Woods, and at Night return with them empty, and run off their Wind. Then the God tells the Prieſts in a Dream what Woods they have been courſing in, and they go out and find the Game killed, and carry it Home.

[a] But *Gotarzes* not yet finding his Army ſtrong enough, fortified his Camp with the River *Corma*; and though he was frequently rallied and challenged to give Battel he ſtill forbore, ſhifting his Quarters, and ſent his Emiſſaries into the Enemy's Camp to corrupt and draw over their Men. Upon this *Izates* the *Adiabenian* left the Army, and was followed by *Abgarus* the *Arabian* King with the Troops he commanded, according to the Levity and Inconſtancy of the Barbarians, who had rather (ſays the Hiſtorian) be always asking a King of us, than receive one from us. *Meherdates* ſtrip'd of ſo conſiderable Auxiliaries, and ſuſpecting the Fidelity of thoſe who ſtaid with him, found he had nothing elſe left but to truſt Fortune, and run the Hazard of a Battel: Nor did *Gotarzes* decline it, having taken Courage at the leſſening of his Enemies Forces. The Fight was obſtinate, and the Succeſs for ſome time was doubtful, till *Carrhenes* having routed thoſe whom he charged in Front, advancing too far, was ſurrounded by a freſh Body who

[a] Ibid. c. 14.

fell

fell upon his Rear, and was there cut off. *Meherdates* gave all for gone; and trusting to one *Parrhaces*, a Vassal of his Father's, was by him made Prisoner, and delivered up to the victor King; who after having reproached him with not being related to him, nor of the Blood of *Arsaces*, but a Stranger and a Foreigner, he gave him his Life; but cut off his Ears, as a Testimony of his Clemency, and as a Reproach and Affront to the *Romans*. *Gotarzes* did not long enjoy the Fruits of this Victory, but died of a Disease, after he had reigned in the whole about five Years. ÆR. ARSAC. 306.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Vonones II.

Ær. Arsac. 306.

VONONES [a] the ſecond of the Name, was from being Governor of *Media*, called in by the States and placed at the Head of the *Parthian* Empire. Whether *Gotarzes* left any Sons is uncertain; if he did, they never came to the Sovereignty, becauſe they were too young to adminiſter the Government; for though the Throne of *Parthia* was hereditary, it was upon Condition that the Heir to the Crown was of a ſuitable Age; otherwiſe it deſcended to the Uncle, if there were no nearer of the Royal Line, which ſeems to be the Caſe of *Vonones* the younger Brother of *Artabanus* III. [b] The Succeſſor of *Gotarzes* is called *Vologeſes* by *Joſephus*, who makes him

[a] Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. c. 14.
[b] Antiq. lib. 20. c. 2.

his

his Brother, taking no Notice of *Vonones*, who is ſaid by *Tacitus* to be *Vologeſes*'s Father. Nothing remarkable, ſays the ſame Hiſtorian, happened during the Reign of this Prince, which was but ſhort and inglorious, and the Crown of *Parthia* devolved upon his Son *Volegeſes*. *Vonones* reigned but a very few Months, and left three Sons at his Death, *Vologeſes* the eldeſt that was born to him by a *Grecian* Courtezan, and *Pacorus* and *Tiridates* by his lawful Wife.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Vologeſes I.

ÆR. ARSAC. 307.

VOLOGESES [a], born to his Father by a *Grecian* Concubine, aſcended the Throne of the Great *Arſaces*, notwithſtanding he had two Brothers lawfully begotten; but being a Prince of an enterpriſing Spirit, and exceedingly beloved by the People, the Eſtates of the Kingdom placed the Crown upon his Head, to prevent a civil War between the two Brothers, who were forming Parties, and involving the whole Nation in Bloodſhed and Confuſion to ſupport their Pretences. [b] But to make ſome Satisfaction for ſeizing upon the Sovereignty without Right, he inveſted *Pacorus* the elder Brother in the

[a] Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. c. 44.
[b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 20. c. 2.

King-

Kingdom of *Media*, and *Armenia*, when ſubdued, he promiſed to beſtow upon the younger Brother *Tiridates*.

[a] *Izates* was at this time King of *Adiabena*, who (ſays *Joſephus*) having gone off from the Religion of his Anceſtors, and turned *Jew*, became unacceptable to his People, who revolted from him, and called in *Abias* the King of *Arabia* to their Aſſiſtance. This Defection was ſuppreſs'd, and the *Arabian* King was ſlain; but the Conſpirators, though they lay at the King's Mercy, reſolved not to ſubmit, but in a ſupplicatory Letter to *Vologeſes*, implored him to relieve them againſt the Tyranny of *Izates*, and take them under his own Protection, appointing whom he thought fit of his own Nation to rule over them; for the King, they ſaid, was an Apoſtate from the Religion they were brought up in, and all the People hated him for it. The *Parthian* reſolved to uſe the Opportunity, and ſoon took Occaſion to quarrel with *Izates*. The firſt thing he did was to revoke all the Honours and Privileges conferred upon him by *Artabanus* III. threatning him at the ſame time with an immediate War, if he ſhould dare in any ſort to diſpute his Pleaſure. This Meſſage gave *Izates* a great deal of Trouble upon ſeveral Accounts. It would have been a mean thing he thought to be frighted into a Reſignation of the Privileges he was ſo duly poſſeſſed of, and had ſo well deſerved; and then he was well ſatisfied, that if he complied, it would be of little Service: So that upon full Conſideration he reſolved to commit all to Providence, and in a full Dependence up-

[a] Joſeph. ibid.

on God's Aſſiſtance, he would caſt Life, Honour and Fortune upon the Iſſue of a Battel.

[a] In this Determination he ſecured his Wives and his Children in a ſtrong Caſtle; laid up great Magazines, and Stores of Corn, and other Neceſſaries in the beſt Forts he had; burnt and deſtroyed all the Forage and Hay round about him, and ſo ſtood firm, and in a Poſture to receive the Enemy. *Vologeſes* had drawn together a mighty Army of Horſe and Foot, much ſooner than could have been ſuſpected, and pitched his Tents upon the Bank of a River that parts *Adiabena* from *Media*: *Izates* alſo encamping not far from thence with a Body of about ſix thouſand Horſe. The *Parthian* King gave him to underſtand by a Meſſenger that he was now advancing againſt him with the whole Force of the Empire from *Bactria* to the *Euphrates*, to call him to an Account for his Ingratitude to his Maſter, and that it was not in the Power of the God he truſted in to ſave him. *Izates* gave the Meſſenger this Reply, that he did not pretend to anſwer him with Numbers, but that he was under the Protection of a God that was not to be controuled by any human Power. With this return he diſpatched away the Herald, and proſtrating himſelf upon the Ground, his Head being covered with Aſhes, and himſelf, his Wives, and his Children faſting and praying, he called upon God, ſaying,

Bleſſed Lord, whom never any Creature loved or ſerved in vain, vouchſafe in Mercy to look down upon thy Servant, that hath now caſt himſelf upon thy almighty Power and infinite Goodneſs, and deliver him out of the Hands of his

[a] Joſeph. ibid.

Enemies;

Enemies; repreſs their preſumptuous Boldneſs, and not ſo much for my ſake, as for the Vindication of thine own Honour, avenge thy ſelf upon them for their blaſphemous Outrages againſt thy almighty Power.

The Prayers and Humiliation of this good Prince was ſo remarkably heard and accepted, that upon Intelligence, the very ſame Night of the *Dahæ* and the *Sacæ* (People of *Scythia*) falling into *Parthia* with a ſtrong Army, and ravaging the Country in the King's Abſence, *Vologeſes* was obliged to draw off his Army, and leave his Deſign unfiniſhed; which (ſays the Hiſtorian) was a moſt evident Indication of a divine Providence in favour of *Izates*.

[a] *Vologeſes* having promiſed the Throne of *Armenia* to his Brother *Tiridates*, waited an Opportunity to ſeize upon that Crown, and put him in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; and a War ſoon breaking out between the *Armenians* and *Hiberians*, favoured his Deſign, the Occaſion of which it will be proper to explain in order to proceed regularly, and diſcover all the Incidents that deſerve mentioning, in order to illuſtrate this Prince's Reign. *Pharaſmanes* had for a long time been in Poſſeſſion of the *Hiberian* Throne; and his Brother *Mithridates* (as was obſerved before) was ſupported in the Kingdom of *Armenia* by the *Romans*. *Pharaſmanes* had a Son called *Rhadamiſtus*, of a handſome proper Perſonage, and a manly Strength, but was Maſter of as much Cunning as his Father, and was much eſteemed by the Populace, and in great Reputation among the neighbouring Nations. This young Prince began to think it ÆR. ARSAC. 307.

[a] Tacit, Annal. lib. 12. c. 44.

hard that ſo ſmall a Kingdom as *Hiberia* ſhould be kept from him any longer by an old Father; and *Pharaſmanes* obſerving in him a Deſire of reigning too early as he thought, and conſidering at the ſame time his own Age, and jealous of the Peoples Love towards the young Prince; in order to divert him, puts a Fancy into his Head of invading *Armenia*, which he ſaid he had given *Mithridates* Poſſeſſion of when the *Parthians* were beaten out of it: But he told him that an Attempt of this Nature could never be carried on by Force, and that Artifice muſt be uſed in order to ſurpriſe him before he was prepared to make Oppoſition. *Rhadamiſtus* underſtood his Buſineſs; and pretending ſome Diſguſt at his Father's Court, as not being able to bear the ill Uſage of his Mother-in-law, goes immediately to his Uncle, who received him with all the Kindneſs and Tenderneſs as if he had been his Son; while by the Sweetneſs of his Behaviour and artful Addreſs, he had corrupted the chief of the Nobility, and engaged them, when there ſhould be Occaſion, to take up Arms in his Favour. *Mithridates* ignorant all this while of the Conſpiracy carrying on in his own Court, entertained the young Prince with all imaginable Gallantry and Reſpect.

[a] *Rhadamiſtus*, upon a pretended Reconciliation, returns to his Father, and acquaints him in what manner he had managed the Revolt; that every thing that was to be done privately was diſpatched, and the reſt muſt be finiſhed by Force. *Pharaſmanes* in the mean time publiſhes his Reaſons for proclaiming War, that

[a] Ibid. c. 45.

when

when he was engaged in a War againſt the King of *Albania*, and demanded Succours of the *Romans*, his Brother *Mithridates* oppoſed it; which Indignity and Affront he reſolved to reſent at the Expence of his utter Deſtruction. He immediately raiſed a great Army, and places his Son at the Head of it; and by haſty Marches he enters the Country of *Armenia*, and drove *Mithridates* before him out of the Field into the Caſtle *Gorneas*, ſtrongly ſituated, and gariſon'd by *Roman* Troops, commanded by the Prefect *Cælius Pollio*, and *Caſperius* the Centurion. Theſe *Hiberians* knew nothing of the Buſineſs of beſieging; and we (ſays *Tacitus*) underſtood the Trade of War in Perfection. *Rhadamiſtus* having in vain and with great Loſs endeavoured to inſult us, laid Siege to the Place; and finding he was unable to ſucceed by Force, attempted to corrupt the Governor *Pollio*, who he was told loved Money: The Centurion *Caſperius* detected the Deſign, and proteſted, that he would never conſent, that an Ally King, and a Country given him by the *Romans*, ſhould be treacherouſly ſold for Money. But *Pollio* inſiſting upon the Number of the Enemies, and *Rhadamiſtus* declaring that he had poſitive Commands from his Father by no means to abandon the Place till he was Maſter of it, *Caſperius* was at laſt prevailed upon to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms; and left the Place with a Deſign, that if *Pharaſmanes* could not be induced to make Peace with *Mithridates*, to inform *Titus Vinidius Quadratus* Governor of *Syria* of the Poſture of Affairs in *Armenia*.

[a] *Caſperius* being departed, and *Pollio* eaſed of a Perſon who had always a watchful Eye over him, began to perſuade *Mithridates* to hearken to Conditions of Peace, urging the Neceſſity of Brothers living amicably together: That *Pharaſmanes* was the elder, and had married his Daughter to him, and that he was Father-in-law to *Rhadamiſtus*: That the *Hiberi*, notwithſtanding they were ſuperior in Power, were willing to hearken to Peace; and that the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Armenians* was ſufficiently known: That *Mithridates* had no other Refuge but this Caſtle, deſtitute of Ammunition and military Stores, and therefore he had no Reaſon to diſpute whether he ought to accept the Conditions of Peace without Bloodſhed, than hazard all upon the Event of War. *Mithridates* came to no ſudden Reſolution, ſuſpecting the Integrity of the Prefect, for he had behaved lewdly and unlike a Man of Honour, having debauched one of the King's Miſtreſſes; beſides, he was an inſatiable Lover of Money, and would ſacrifice every thing to his Intereſt. *Caſperius* in the mean time applies to *Pharaſmanes*, and inſiſts ſtrenuouſly that the *Heberi* ſhould inſtantly abandon the Siege of *Gorneas*. But the King entertaining him with doubtful Anſwers, yet with Civility and outward Reſpect, ſent private Meſſengers to *Rhadamiſtus* by all poſſible means to haſten the Aſſault. The Price of the Treaſon was advanced, and *Pollio* ſecretly corrupting the Soldiers, perſuades them earneſtly to demand a Peace, and threaten that they would give up the Fortreſs. Preſſed by this Neceſſity, *Mithridates* was obliged to

[a] Ibid. c. 46.

agree

agree to a Treaty, and to deliver up the Caſtle.

[a] As he marched out *Rhadamiſtus* ran to him and embraced him, with all the Signs of outward Reſpect, calling him his Father-in-law and Father, and ſwore that he would uſe no Violence againſt him, neither by Sword nor by Poiſon: Then he led him into an adjacent Wood, telling him, that he had provided a Sacrifice, that they might conclude and ratify the Peace in the Preſence of the Gods. It is a Cuſtom among thoſe Princes, that when they make an Alliance with one another to join their right Hands, and bind their Thumbs together ſo hard, that when the Blood is ready to ſtart out they prick them, and then ſuck each other's Blood; and an Alliance ſo confirmed is looked upon as ſacred. But the Perſon appointed to tie the Thumbs pretending to fall, catched hold of *Mithridates* Knees and threw him down: Upon this many running in bound him with Chains, and ſo led him away, which among thoſe Nations is accounted the greateſt Ignominy and Diſhonour. The common People who had felt the Smart of his Tyranny and Oppreſſion, began to inſult and offered to ſtrike him, but others of better Underſtanding lamented ſo great a change of Fortune; and his Wife who followed at a Diſtance with her little Children, filled the Air with her Cries. They were put ſeparately into covered Waggons till *Pharaſmanes* ordered how they ſhould be diſpoſed off. But he who valued the Conqueſt of a Kingdom more than a Brother or a Daughter, and was naturally diſpoſed to Wic-

[a] Ibid. c. 47.

kedneſs,

kedneſs, ordered them to be executed, but would not have them put to death in his Preſence: And *Rhadamiſtus* pretending to keep his Oath that they ſhould not die by Sword or by Poiſon, ordered a great Weight of heavy Clothes to be thrown upon them when they were laid down, and ſo they were ſmothered: The Children of *Mithridates* at the ſame time lamenting the Death of their Parents were barbarouſly ſlain.

[a] But *Quadratus* Governor of *Syria* underſtanding that *Mithridates* was betrayed, and his Murderers enjoyed his Kingdom, calls a Council of War, and laying the Matter before them, he ask'd their Opinion, whether he ought not in Honour to revenge this Barbarity, and proſecute his Cauſe. Few among them ſhewed any Concern for the publick Credit; and the Majority propoſed, that the ſafeſt Reſolutions at this Juncture were the beſt; and agreed, that the Wickedneſs and Villany of foreign Nations made to their Advantage: That it was their Intereſt to promote Quarrels, and ſow the Seeds of publick Diſcord among them, as their Anceſtors formerly, under Pretence of Bounty, had beſtowed the Kingdom of *Armenia* ſometimes upon one, and then upon another, with no other View but to divide them, and ſo deſtroy them: That *Rhadamiſtus* might keep Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom he had got with ſo much Infamy, provided he became odious and diſagreeable to his People, which would more redound to the *Roman* Advantage, than if he was a Prince beloved by his Subjects, and had acquired a Kingdom with the beſt Right.

[a] Ibid. c. 48.

This Opinion was univerſally complied with; but to ſhew that they did not juſtify ſo baſe an Act, and leſt the Emperor ſhould make any Alterations in what they had reſolved upon, they ſent to *Pharaſmanes* to let him know that it was expected he ſhould draw off from the Frontiers of *Armenia*, and carry his Son along with him.

[a] *Julius Pelignus* was at this time Governor of *Cappadocia*, whoſe Cowardice and Deformity of Body made him ridiculous and contemptible; but he had a great Share in the Emperor's Favour, aſſiſting and revelling with him in his private Debauches. This Man gathered about him the auxiliary Forces of the Provinces, as if he had a Deſign to recover *Armenia*; but while he plundered his Friends more than his Enemies, his own Men deſerted him, and the *Barbarians* falling upon him, he was forced to retreat to *Rhadamiſtus*; who ſo prevailed upon him, by the Preſents he made him, that he perſuaded him to declare and crown him King; *Pelignus* at the ſame aſſiſting as his Adviſer, and his principal Guard at the Coronation. When this baſe Proceeding was publickly known (that the World might not have the ſame Opinion of the other *Roman* Generals they had of *Pelignus*) *Helvidius Priſcus* Lieutenant General was ſent to repreſs Diſorders, and to ſettle Affairs, as the preſent Occaſion required. He paſſed over the *Taurus* with great Expedition; and having compoſed the Diſputes, rather by Moderation than by Violence, he was commanded to return back into *Syria*, leſt

[a] Ibid. c. 49.

his

his March ſhould give Occaſion of Jealouſy to the *Parthians*.

Ær. Arsac. 308. [a] For *Vologeſes* obſerving theſe Revolutions in the Kingdom of *Armenia*, thought he could never have a fairer Opportunity of invading it, being a Country formerly poſſeſſed by his Anceſtors, and now baſely ſeized by a Stranger and a Murderer. With this Deſign he raiſes a great Army, being reſolved to place his Brother *Tiridates* upon the Throne, that none of his Family might be without Rule and Sovereignty. At the Approach of the *Parthians* the *Hiberians* fled out of the Country without ſtriking a Stroke, and the Cities of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta* ſubmitted: The Severity of the Winter, the Scarceneſs of Proviſion and military Stores, and a general Sickneſs, occaſioned by theſe two Inconveniences, made *Vologeſes* deſiſt from any farther Attempts at preſent; whilſt *Rhadamiſtus*, taking the Advantage, enters *Armenia* deſtitute of Forces, carrying himſelf with greater Cruelty toward the Inhabitants, whom he looked upon and treated as Traitors, that would rebel whenever they had an Opportunity; but the *Armenians*, though they had been accuſtomed to Slavery, could no longer endure his Tyranny, and beſieged him in his Palace.

Rhadamiſtus was forced to fly away on Horſeback, and by that means ſaved himſelf and his Wife. The poor Lady was big with Child, and endured the Fatigue of the firſt Day's Journey with becoming Patience; ſo much was ſhe afraid of falling into the Enemies Hands, and ſo great was the Affection that ſhe bore to her

[a] Ibid. c. 50.

Husband;

Husband; but by continual Flight and Hurry her Belly was ſo ſore with jolting that ſhe could go no farther, and therefore beg'd of him to deliver her from the Fears of Slavery by a noble Death. At firſt he was aſtoniſhed; he comforted her, raiſed her up, embraced her, and admired the Gallantry of her Spirit; and then again feared, if he ſhould leave her alive, ſome other Perſon might find her and enjoy her; at laſt in a paſſionate Fit, and not unuſed to the ſhedding of Blood, he drew out his Scymetar, wounded her, and dragged her to the Banks of the *Araxes*, and threw her in, that her Body might not be found, while with all poſſible Haſte he poſted into *Hiberia*, his Father's Kingdom. It happened that ſome Shepherds accidentally looking that Way ſpied the diſtreſſed *Zenobia* (for that was her Name) floating in a little Creek of the River breathing and alive; and gueſſing by her Beauty and Habit that ſhe was a Perſon of ſome Condition, bound up her Wounds, and applied what Medicaments the Country afforded, or they could gather in the Fields. When ſhe came to her ſelf they asked her her Name, and how ſhe came there, and removed her to *Artaxata*, from whence by Command, and at the Expence of the Publick, ſhe was ſent to *Tiridates*, where ſhe was received and treated as the Wife of a King. About this time died *Claudius* the *Roman* Emperor, and was ſucceeded by *Nero Cæſar*.

About the end of the Year (ſays [a] *Tacitus*) News was brought to *Rome* by Embaſſadors, that the *Parthians* had broke into *Armenia*, ÆR. ARSAC. 310.

[a] Annal. lib. 13. c. 6.

plundered the Country, and drove *Rhadamiſtus* out of it; who having often been in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and now forced to quit it, gave over the Thoughts at preſent of proſecuting the War. Upon this Occaſion the People of *Rome* began to enquire, whether a Prince, but juſt paſt ſeventeen, could ſupport the Fatigue of a War, or any ways prevent it; and what could they expect from one that was under the Government of a Woman as *Nero* was of his Mother? Whether the Conduct of a Campaign or the Siege of a Town was to be left to the Management and Direction of Pedagogues? Others on the contrary ſaid, that it was better ſo, than that *Claudius*, old and lazy as he was, ſhould be at the Head of the Army, who they were ſure would be entirely guided by Slaves. It is certain that the People were under fearful Apprehenſions upon the Account of the *Parthian* War; inſomuch, that *Nero* commanded the Youth in the neighbouring Provinces to be muſtered, to ſupply the Legions of the Eaſt, and thoſe Legions to march nearer to *Armenia*; and enjoined the two old Kings *Agrippa* of *Judæa*, and *Jocchus* (or *Antiochus*) of *Comagena*, to haraſs the *Parthian* Borders, and make Bridges over the *Euphrates*. But *Vologeſes* was ſoon obliged to recall his Forces from this Expedition to ſuppreſs a Rebellion at Home, with his Son *Bardanes* at the Head of it; very fortunately (ſays *Tacitus* [a]) for the *Romans*; for they left the Country, as if they had given over the Thoughts of the War till another time. *Tiridates* the Brother of the *Parthian* King notwithſtand-

[a] Ibid. c. 7.

ing,

ing, found means to get Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Armenia*.

[a] The Care and Government of *Armenia* was committed to *Corbulo*; and the Forces in the Eaſt were ſo diſpoſed, that part of the Auxiliaries with two Legions ſhould continue in *Syria* with *Quadratus Vinidius* the Governor, who commanded them. *Corbulo* at the ſame time had two Legions compoſed of *Roman* Citizens and Allies, with the Horſe and Foot that wintered in *Cappadocia*; and the Ally Kings had Orders to obey either of them, as the Occaſions of the War ſhould require. *Corbulo* had the greateſt Share in their Eſteem; who to eſtabliſh his Reputation (which in new Enterpriſes is of great Importance) made quick Marches, and met *Quadratus* at *Ægea* a City of *Cilicia*, who came ſo far to prevent *Corbulo* from entring into *Syria*, and taking the Command of the Army. He was ſenſible that by his Preſence he would create an Intereſt in the People; for he was a very comely Perſon, tall and well-proportioned, and of ſo eloquent an Addreſs, joined to great Wiſdom and Experience, that he had an irreſiſtible Command over the Affections of thoſe he applied himſelf to. Ær. Arsac. 311.

[b] Both of theſe *Romans* Generals ſent to the *Parthian* King, recommending to him the choice of Peace rather than War, and adviſed him to ſend Hoſtages, and to continue the ſame Reverence and Obedience to the *Roman* People, as was paid by his Anceſtors. *Vologeſes*, upon this Meſſage, either to prepare for War with more Advantage, or to remove thoſe far

[a] Ibid. c. 8.

[b] Ibid. c. 9.

from

from him who he thought had a Deſign upon the Crown, delivered up the principal and moſt noble of the *Arſacian* Family, who were received by *Hoſterius* a Centurion, ſent before by *Vinidius* to the *Parthian* Court for that Purpoſe. *Corbulo* underſtanding this, commanded *Arius Varus*, Captain of a Company of Foot, to receive and conduct the Hoſtages; upon which a Diſpute aroſe between the Captain and the Centurion, and they agreed (leſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves, and ſeem ridiculous to Strangers) to refer the Matter to the Hoſtages themſelves, and the Lieutenants who had the Charge of them; they declared in favour of *Corbulo*, on the Account of the Reputation he had lately acquired, and a ſort of an Inclination that was ſhewed to his Perſon by his very Enemies. This Deciſion made a great Difference between the two Generals: *Vinidius* complained that the Honour of bringing Things to the good Order they were in by his Application and Advice was taken from him: *Corbulo* on the other ſide inſiſted, that the King would never have been prevailed upon to deliver up Hoſtages, if he had not been declared the Chief in the Management of the War, which terrified him into ſuch a Compliance. *Nero* to reconcile theſe Differences cauſed it to be proclaimed, that for the good Services *Quadratus* and *Corbulo* had done the Republick, a Laurel Branch ſhould be added to the Faſces that were carried before the Generals of Armies.

[a] *Vologeſes* notwithſtanding he delivered his Hoſtages to the *Roman* Court, had no Deſign to give up his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of

[a] Ibid. c. 34.

Armenia;

Armenia; he only protracted the War for his own Advantage, till he had his Army in order, that he might open the Campaign with the greater Vigour. The beginning of this Year, ſays the Hiſtorian, introduced a hot War between the *Romans* and the *Parthians*; the Occaſion was becauſe *Vologeſes* would by no means allow that his Brother *Tiridates* ſhould be deprived of his Kingdom; nor that he ſhould be inveſted with it by any other Power than his own: *Corbulo* on the other ſide thought it became the Dignity of the *Roman* People to inſiſt upon the Recovery of that Privilege which *Lucullus* and *Pompey* had obtained. As for the *Armenians* they were uncertain which ſide to follow, and being faithful to neither, they gave Invitations to both; but by the Situation of their Country and Conformity of Manners, they were more inclined to the *Parthians*, with whom they had intermarried, and having no Apprehenſion of the Sweets of Liberty, they appeared more diſpoſed to Bondage and Slavery.

[a] But *Corbulo* had more Difficulty to overcome the Effeminacy of his own Army than the Treachery of his Enemies; for the Soldiers removed from *Syria* being idle and indolent by a long Peace, had no Opinion of the Uſe and Fatigues of War. It is certain there were Soldiers in his Camp that had never been upon Guard; they gazed at a Rampire or a Trench as very ſtrange Things: They appeared gay, without Headpieces or Armour, intent upon nothing but Plunder, having ſpent their whole Lives within walled Towns. He therefore diſ-

[a] Ibid. c. 35.

miſſed the old and unfit for Service, and ſupplied his Companies with Recruits out of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*. To them were added a Legion out of *Germany*, and ſome Companies of Horſe and Foot: He kept all his Army encamped Abroad, though the Winter was ſo hard and ſevere, and the Earth ſo hardned with Froſt, that they could not drive the Pins for their Tents, without firſt digging the Ground. [a] With this ſevere Diſcipline *Corbulo* exerciſed his Army till the Spring, and poſting the auxiliary Troops in convenient Stations, commanded them by all means to avoid coming to Action. The Charge of the Gariſons he committed to *Pactius Ophitus*, who was eldeſt Captain of a Legion; and who, though he wrote to *Corbulo* that the Barbarians were ſecure and diſordered, and a fair Opportunity offered to do ſomething memorable, he was ſtill ordered to keep within his Gariſon, and to wait for greater Supplies. But he ventured to diſobey his Orders; for obſerving a few Troops of Horſe ſallying out of a neighbouring Fort, and demanding Battel, he raſhly engaged, and was put to the Rout; and thoſe that ſhould have ſeconded him, terrified with that Diſaſter, fled every Man for his own Safety. This Misfortune was a great Affliction to *Corbulo*, who ſharply chaſtiſing *Pactius*, and the Officers that encouraged him for their raſh Attempt, he commanded them all to take up their Tents, and pitch them without the Camp; and there he puniſhed them with that Diſgrace, till they were admitted by the Interceſſion and Requeſt of the whole Army.

[a] Ibid. c. 36.

[a] But

[a] But *Tiridates* beſides his own Followers being ſupported by the *Parthian* King, no longer carried on his Intereſt by private Methods, but invades *Armenia* with open War, plundering all that took ſides with the *Romans*; and if any Forces were led out againſt him, he avoided engaging by flying and ſcouring over the Country, terrifying more by Report than by Action. *Corbulo* therefore uſed all poſſible means to draw him to a Battel, but to no Purpoſe, which obliged him to make War, now in one Place, now in another, as the Enemy did, and to ſeparate his Forces, that his Officers might be ready to take Advantages in all Places that ſhould offer. *Pharaſmanes* at this time (*Rhadamiſtus* his Son being ſlain for conſpiring againſt his Father) to teſtify his Obedience to the *Romans*, proſecuted his old Hatred againſt the *Armenians* with greater Violence: The *Iſichians* likewiſe, a bordering Nation, that had never before been confederate with the *Romans*, became their Allies, and were of great Service in this War, in forcing the moſt difficult Paſſes of the Country. The Deſigns of *Tiridates* were almoſt ruined by this Revolt, which obliged him to ſend Embaſſadors to expoſtulate with *Corbulo* in his own, and in the Name of the *Parthian* King, why, after having ſo lately given Hoſtages and renewed their Alliance, which opened a Way to new Advantages, he ſhould be driven from the antient Poſſeſſion of *Armenia*. *Vologeſes* had not yet openly declared himſelf, becauſe he had rather have the Affair decided by Reaſon than by Force; but if he reſolved to perſiſt, and leave

[a] Ibid. c. 37.

Things to the Event of War, the *Arſacidæ* neither wanted Courage, nor good Fortune, which had been often tried to the Loſs and Deſtruction of the *Romans*. *Corbulo*, who knew that the *Parthian* King was involved with this Defection of the *Hircanians*, perſuaded *Tiridates* to ſubmit himſelf to *Cæſar*, that he might obtain a firm Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom without Bloodſhed; for his Hopes and Proſpects were tedious and diſtant; whereas this Method was at Hand, and might be executed without Difficulty.

ÆR. ARSAC. 315. [a] Upon this it was reſolved, ſince nothing to the Purpoſe was tranſacted by Meſſengers towards finiſhing the Peace, to appoint a Time and Place for an Interview. *Tiridates* inſiſted that he would come with a thouſand Horſe for his Guard; but *Corbulo* might bring with him as many, and what ſort of Soldiers he pleaſed, provided they came without their Helmets and Cuiraſſes, becauſe it would be a Teſtimony of a Diſpoſition to Peace. This barbarous Treachery was ſufficiently evident, eſpecially to an old experienced Captain; for a ſmall Number was limited on one part, and a greater allowed on the other, that the Treaſon might be the better effected; for to oppoſe unarmed Men againſt Horſemen, well diſciplined in the Uſe of their Arrows, would ſignify little, though the Number of the former were never ſo conſiderable. Yet *Corbulo* behaving as though he had not diſcovered the Treaſon, anſwered, that publick Affairs of that Conſequence would be better debated in the Face of both Armies; and for the Purpoſe he choſe a

[a] Ibid. c. 38.

Place,

Place, one part of which had an eaſy Aſcent proper for Battalions of Foot, the other ſtretched out into a Plain convenient to draw out Troops of Horſe. When the Day came, *Corbulo* appeared firſt in the following Order: He placed the Cohorts of his Allies, and the Auxiliaries ſent by the Kings in the Wings, and in the middle the ſixth Legion, among whom he had intermingled three thouſand of the third Legion, whom he had ſent for by Night out of other Gariſons, with one Eagle only, as if there had been no more than one Legion. *Tiridates* on his part towards the Cloſe of the Day ſhewed himſelf afar off, where he might be better ſeen than heard; ſo that the *Roman* General, without any other Interview, commanded all the Soldiers to return to their Camp.

[a] *Tiridates* either ſuſpecting ſome Deſign, becauſe he ſaw the *Roman* Soldiers diſperſing themſelves ſeveral Ways, or having a View to intercept a Convoy of Proviſion that was coming to the *Romans* from the Sea of *Pontus*, and the City of *Trapezus*, moved haſtily off: But he failed in his Deſign upon the Proviſion, becauſe it paſſed over the Mountains that were poſſeſſed by *Roman* Gariſons. And *Corbulo* that he might not protract the War to no Purpoſe, and that the *Armenians* might be forced to defend their own, he prepared himſelf to attack their Gariſons. He firſt made choice of the ſtrongeſt Place in the Country to aſſault, called *Volandum*; but Places of inconſiderable Strength he committed to the Management of *Cornelius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, and *Fonteius*

[a] Ibid. c. 39.

Capito his Quarter Maſter General. When he had ſurveyed the Works, and all Things were ready for an Aſſault, he encouraged his Soldiers to unkennel a vagrant Enemy, that were neither qualified for Peace nor War, but diſcovered their Treachery and Cowardice by their Flight; and that now was the Time to procure to themſelves Glory and Booty: Then dividing his Army into four Parts, ſome he drew up cloſe under the Protection of a *Teſtudo*, to undermine and beat down the Rampire; others he ſet to ſcale the Walls; others to diſcharge Firebrands and Darts out of warlike Engines. There was a Place likewiſe aſſigned to the Slingers and Stone-caſters, from whence they might caſt Bullets at a Diſtance, that the Beſieged being terrified on all ſides might ſend no Relief to thoſe that were on the Works. The Courage of the Beſiegers was ſo great, that the Walls were left naked before a third part of the Day was ſpent: The Gates were broken down, the Walls ſcaled, all of a mature Age were put to the Sword: The *Romans* loſt not one Man, and had but very few wounded: The young and impotent were ſold for Slaves, and the reſt was free Plunder to the Conquerors. The ſame good Fortune attended the Lieutenant and Camp Maſter General; three Gariſons were taken in one Day, the reſt through Fear, and by Conſent of the Inhabitants, were delivered up; and this Succeſs encouraged the *Romans* to ſet upon *Artaxata*, the capital City of the Kingdom. For this Purpoſe the Legions did not advance the nigheſt Way, becauſe if they had paſſed the River *Araxes* that waſhes the Walls by the Bridge, they might have been attacked from the Walls, and

therefore

therefore they choſe to paſs at ſome Diſtance where the River was wider, and had convenient Fords.

[a] But *Tiridates*, oppreſſed with Fear and Shame, leſt if he ſuffered the Place to be inveſted, he ſhould not be able to relieve it; or if he attempted to prevent the Siege, he ſhould expoſe himſelf and his Cavalry to dangerous and difficult Places, reſolved at laſt to ſhew his Army in order of Battel, and have a Day appointed to engage, or under a Pretence of flying, draw the *Romans* into an Ambuſh. For this Purpoſe he ſurrounded the *Romans* of a ſudden, of which *Corbulo* being aware, he ſo diſpoſed his Army that they might march and engage at the ſame time: On the right the third Legion advanced, on the left the ſixth, in the middle a ſelect Company was choſen out of the tenth; the Carriages were placed between the Ranks, and a thouſand Horſe in the Rear, with Orders to reſiſt and make Head againſt the Enemy if they advanced, but not to purſue them if they fled: The Archers on Foot and the reſt of the Horſe marched in the Wings, the left Wing being ſtretched out ſomewhat longer under the ſide of the Hills, that if the Enemy ſhould attack them they might be received both in Front and in the main Body. *Tiridates* on the other ſide with his *Parthian* Auxiliaries pretended to advance briskly, but kept off beyond a Dart's caſt; one while threatning, and then ſeeming to be afraid to try whether the *Romans* could open and break their Ranks, that he might ſet upon them with greater Advantage; but per-

[a] Ibid. c. 40.

ceiving nothing out of order, and that the Army ſtood firm (only one Captain of Horſe advanced more raſhly than the reſt, and was ſlain with an Arrow, and whoſe Example had no other Effect than to confirm others in their Duty) the Night advancing, he retreated and drew off.

[a] *Corbulo* having marked out his Camp, conſidered with himſelf whether he ſhould march that Night to *Artaxata*, and lay Siege to it with light and unencumber'd Legions, ſuppoſing that *Tiridates* had retired thither; but his Scouts bringing Intelligence that the King had taken a longer march, and it was unknown whether he had fled to the *Medes* or *Albanians*, he ſtays there till Day, ſending before a Party light-armed to inveſt the Place, and to form the Siege: But the Citizens threw open their Gates, and ſurrendered themſelves, and all that they had to the *Romans*, by which their Lives were ſaved. The City was burnt and razed to the Ground, becauſe it could not be kept without a numerous Gariſon, by reaſon of the Extent of the Walls; and our Forces were not ſo conſiderable, that they could leave there a Body of Men ſufficient, and at the ſame time keep the Field; and if the City ſhould have been left entire and unguarded, the *Romans* would receive neither Honour nor Advantage from the Conqueſt of it. Some have reported that a Miracle was obſerved upon this Occaſion; for ſo it happened, that whatever was on the outſide of the City was illuminated by the Sun, while all contained within the Walls was ſo ſuddenly darkned by a black Cloud, and

[a] Ibid. c. 41.

diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed by Lightning, that it ſeemed as if the Will of the Gods was that the Place ſhould be deſtroyed. The Succeſs of this *Armenian* Expedition coming to *Rome*, *Nero* was ſaluted *Emperor*; Proceſſions were appointed by Decree of the Senate; Statues and triumphal Arches were erected; the Conſulſhip was continued to *Nero*, aud it was ordained, that the Day on which the Victory was gained, the Day the News was brought, and the Day wherein it was communicated to the Senate ſhould be kept Feſtival. Theſe extraordinary Honours, derived from the extravagant Flattery of the Senate, provoked *Caius Caſſius* a Senator to ſay, that if they were to give the Gods ſuch ſtated Thanks for ſo many Favours of Fortune, the whole Year would not be ſufficient for the Solemnity of Proceſſions; therefore they ought to diſtinguiſh common from Holydays, that the Gods might be worſhiped, and at the ſame time the Buſineſs of this World not obſtructed.

[a] *Corbulo*, after he had razed the City of *Artaxata*, taking Advantage of the preſent Conſternation, deſigned to make himſelf Maſter of *Tigranocerta*, a noted City of *Armenia* the Greater, either by deſtroying it, to add to the Terror of his Name, or by ſparing it to gain a Reputation for his Clemency. Thither he directed his March, uſing no Hoſtility by the Way to expreſs his Intention of pardoning them; yet keeping upon his Guard, being acquainted with the inconſtant Humour of that People, fearful in time of Danger, and when Opportunity offered, unfaithful and treacherous.

[a] Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. c. 23.

This

This barbarous People upon his Approach began to act according to their ſeveral Inclinations; ſome came to implore his Mercy; others left their Houſes and fled to inacceſſible Places, or hid themſelves in the Rocks, taking with them their moſt valuable Movables. The *Roman* General uſed different Policies upon this Occaſion; the Submiſſive he pardoned, thoſe that fled he purſued ſwiftly, and thoſe who hid themſelves in Pits and Caves he treated with great Cruelty; for the Mouths of Holes he ſtop'd with Vine Branches and ſmall Wood, and then ſet them on fire. As he paſſed by the Borders of the *Mardi*, a People well practiſed in Robbery and Plundering, they attacked him, but when he ſet upon them they retired to the Mountains for Defence. He ſent an Army of *Hiberians* to chaſtiſe them, by that means puniſhing the audacious Attempts of the Enemy by the Blood of Strangers.

[a] *Corbulo* and his Army, though they ſuffered nothing in Battel from the Enemy, yet were forced to ſtrive with Hunger, and the tireſome Fatigue of long Marches, having nothing to live upon but the Fleſh of Beaſts; but all theſe Misfortunes, the want of Water, burning Heats, and long Marches, became tolerable by the Patience of the General, who endured more Hardſhips than the meaneſt Soldier, till they came into a more fruitful Country, juſt after their Harveſt was over. The People had retired into two ſtrong Forts, one of which was taken by Storm, the other was beſieged and forced to ſurrender. From thence they marched into the Country of the *Taurantians*, where

[a] Ibid. c. 24.

Corbulo

Corbulo narrowly eſcaped being killed by a *Barbarian* Lord, who was apprehended with his Arms near his Tent, and confeſſed upon Torture his Deſigns and Accomplices; they were convicted and put to death, for intending to aſſaſſinate him, under the Pretence of Friendſhip. The Forces he had ſent to *Tigranocerta* ſoon returned, and informed him that the Inhabitants were wholly at his Devotion, and had ſent him a Crown of Gold as a Teſtimony of their Friendſhip, which he honourably received, and took away none of their Privileges, that he might the eaſier keep them in Obedience.

[a] Notwithſtanding this Succeſs, ſome of the braveſt of their Youth had ſhut themſelves up in a Caſtle, called the *King's Fort*, which was not to be taken but by fighting; for they often made Sallies, and fought without the Walls; but being frequently repulſed by the *Romans*, the Place could hold out no longer, and it was taken by Storm. The *Parthians* being engaged in a War with the *Hircanians*, facilitated the Progreſs of *Corbulo*. Theſe People had ſent Embaſſadors to the *Roman* Emperor, ſolliciting his Alliance; boaſting at the ſame time that they had confined *Vologeſes* the *Parthian* King, to deſerve his Friendſhip. Upon the return of theſe Embaſſadors they conducted them with a good Guard as far as the *Perſian* Gulph, leſt when they had paſſed the *Euphrates* they ſhould be ſurprized by an Ambuſh of the Enemies; ſo that having eſcaped the *Parthian* Borders, they returned ſafe into their own Country.

[a] Ibid. c. 25.

[2] *Tiridates*

Ær. Arsac. 316. [a] *Tiridates* at this time entring the *Armenian* Borders on the ſide of *Media* was repulſed by *Verulanus* with ſome auxiliary Troops ſent him by *Corbulo*, who advanced by quick Marches with his Legions, and ſoon forced that Prince to give over his Deſigns; and to ſtrike the more Terror, he ravaged with Fire and Sword the Eſtates of thoſe who had declared themſelves Enemies to the *Romans*, and took Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Armenia*. At this time arrived *Tigranes*, who was ſent by *Nero* to be King of that Country: He was a *Cappadocian* Nobleman, and Grandſon of King *Archelaus*, that had been a long time Hoſtage at *Rome*, which had broken the natural Vigor of his Mind, and made him ſervile to a Fault. When he came he was not received by general Conſent; for ſome contended for the Intereſt of the *Arſacian* Family; ſome again out of Hatred to the *Parthian* Pride, would rather receive a King from the *Romans*. *Corbulo*, to defend him in Poſſeſſion, left him a thouſand legionary Soldiers, three Companies of Auxiliaries, and two Wings of Horſe; and that he might with the leſs Difficulty ſecure himſelf in his new Kingdom, he gave a part of his Frontiers to the neighbouring Princes, as a Reward for their Aſſiſtance in the Buſineſs of this War.

[b] The *Parthian* King (ſays *Dio*) hearing that *Nero* had diſpoſed of the Kingdom of *Armenia*, and that *Tigranes* was no ſooner in Poſſeſſion, but he made an Inroad into the Country of *Adiabena*, ſent *Monobazus* the *Adiabenian* King, and *Monæſes* a *Parthian* Nobleman, with a good Body of Troops into *Armenia*, he him-

[a] Ibid. c. 26. [b] Lib. 62.

ſelf

ſelf with the reſt of his Army pretending to march into *Syria* againſt *Corbulo*. The Forces that invaded *Armenia* had the Advantage of *Tigranes*, and confined him within the Walls of *Tigranocerta*, and ſhut him up; but they were ſo vigorouſly repulſed from the Walls by the *Armenian* and *Roman* Troops, that they deſpaired of Succeſs againſt the Town; and *Corbulo* who was now Lieutenant of *Syria* in the room of *Vinidius* that was dead, had ſo diſpoſed his Army and his Gariſons for the Security of his Province, that *Vologeſes* was afraid to attack him, and doubted much of the Succeſs of this Expedition. *Tacitus* gives a different Account in this manner.

[a] In the midſt of theſe Tranſactions *Vologeſes* the *Parthian* King being informed of *Corbulo*'s Proceeding, that *Tigranes* a Foreigner had been impoſed upon the Kingdom of *Armenia*, and his Brother *Tiridates* expelled, to the great Indignity and Contempt of the Blood of *Arſaces*, entertained ſome Thoughts of revenging the Affront; but reflecting upon the Greatneſs of the *Romans*, and the Alliance preſerved between the two People; beſides being naturally ſlow, and conſidering that the *Hircanians*, a powerful Nation, had involved him in a troubleſome War, he began to ſlacken in his Reſolution. But as he wavered under this Uncertainty, he was more exaſperated by the Intelligence he received of a freſh Provocation; for *Tigranes* had led his Army out of *Armenia*, and made Incurſions in the Country of *Adiabena*, a neighbouring Province. The Nobility of the Nation highly reſented this Affront; for they ſaid they

[a] Tacit. Annal. lib. 15. c. 1.

were not ſpoiled and plundered by a *Roman* General, but by the Inſolence of an Hoſtage, who had lived ſo many Years among Slaves. Beſides, his Concern was the more raiſed by *Monobazus*, who had the Government of the *Adiabeni*, who demanded of him where or to whom they muſt apply for Protection; urging, that *Armenia* was already in the Enemies Hands; that they ſhould be ſwallowed up next, and unleſs the *Parthians* would exert themſelves in their Defence, thoſe who yielded to the *Romans* would be treated with more Favour than ſuch as ſtood out and were compelled. On the other ſide, *Tiridates* deprived of his Kingdom, by his Silence, ſeemed to complain and to reproach him: That great Empires are not to be ſupported by Cowardice, but by trying the Strength of Men and Arms: That among Princes, he had moſt Juſtice who had moſt Power: That it was ſufficient for private Perſons to preſerve their own Eſtates, but it was the Glory of Kings to enlarge their Dominions by new Conqueſts.

[a] *Vologeſes*, animated with theſe Reflections, calls a Council of his Kindred and the *Magi*, and placing *Tiridates* by his ſide, begins thus. *This young Prince deſcended from the ſame Father with my ſelf, having yielded to me the Crown of* Parthia *in right of elder Brother, I placed in the Throne of* Armenia, *which is the third Degree of Power among us; for* Pacorus *had before fixed himſelf in the Kingdom of the* Medes; *ſo that by this means I thought I had removed that common Hatred which uſually prevails among Brothers, and fully ſettled the Condition of our*

[a] Tacit. ibid. c. 2. Strabo lib. 11. Juſtin. lib. 43. c. 3.

Family. The Romans *attempt to defeat this Deſign, and to break the Peace, which they never have diſputed, but to their own Deſtruction. I muſt confeſs I had rather keep what I have received from my Anceſtors by Equity than by Blood, by Reaſon than by Arms; but if I have been to blame by delaying, I will recover all by my Valour; your Glory is unſullied, and the Fame of your Arms unqueſtioned. Beſides, your Moderation and Virtue is ſufficiently known, which is not to be deſpiſed by the greateſt of Men, and is had in Honour by the God's themſelves.* Having thus ſaid he put a Diadem on the Head of *Tiridates*, gave the Command of the Horſe-guard, that was for the Defence of his Perſon, and the Troops of the *Adiabeni* to *Monæſes* a young Nobleman, giving him charge to drive *Tigranes* out of *Armenia*, whilſt he himſelf marched in Perſon to reduce the *Hircani* that rebelled, and collected his whole Power of War to make an Attempt upon the *Roman* Provinces.

[a] *Corbulo* receiving Advice of theſe Preparations, diſpatched two Legions under the Command of *Verulanus Severus* and *Vettius Bolanus* to ſupport *Tigranes*, with private Inſtructions to act with Deliberation, and engage in nothing with Precipitance; acquainting them, he intended rather to defend the Provinces in caſe of Invaſion, than to begin an offenſive War: He writes at the ſame time to *Cæſar*, that it was proper *Armenia* ſhould have a ſeparate Governor, and that *Syria* was in Danger from the Attempts of the *Parthian*. In the mean time he diſpoſes the reſt of the Legions upon the ÆR. ARSAC. 318.

[a] Tacit. ibid. c. 3.

Banks

Banks of the *Euphrates*, armed in all Haſte the People of the Country, and intercepts all the Paſſages of the Enemy by proper Gariſons; and becauſe the Country is ill provided with Water, he raiſed Fortifications near the Fountains, and covered the ſmall Brooks with Heaps of Sand.

[a] Matters being thus ordered for the Defence of *Syria*, *Monæſes*, to prevent the Report of his coming, marched with all Expedition; but *Tigranes* was provided to receive him, having ſecured himſelf in *Tigranocerta*, a Town well fortified, and had a ſtrong Gariſon; beſides, the River *Nicephorius* of a conſiderable Depth ſurrounded part of the Walls, and a deep Ditch of a great Length was drawn to ſecure the reſt. The Town was filled with Men and Proviſions for a vigorous Defence; at firſt a Number of the Gariſon advancing too far were ſurpriſed by the Enemy, which inſtead of intimidating their Companions, they were the more inflamed with a deſire of Revenge. The *Parthians* wanting Courage, were afraid to engage at Hand under the Walls, but diſcharged a few Arrows at a Diſtance without Execution, and gave no Apprehenſions to the Beſieged: The *Adiabeni*, as they were raiſing their Ladders and other Engines to the Walls, were eaſily tumbled down, and by a vigorous Sally cut to pieces.

[b] *Corbulo*, notwithſtanding the Succeſs of his Affairs, reſolved not to be elated with the Pride of his good Fortune, but ſends a Meſſenger to *Vologeſes*; complaining, that he, without any Regard to his Alliance and pro-

[a] Ibid. c. 4. [b] Ibid. c. 5.

feſſed

ſeſſed Amity to the *Roman* Empire, had invaded *Armenia*, and beſieged the *Roman* Legions: He inſiſted therefore that he ſhould either raiſe the Siege, or he would carry the War home into his own Country. The *Parthian* was then at *Niſibis*, a Town about ſeven and thirty Miles diſtance from *Tigranocerta*; hither came *Caſperius* a Centurion to deliver this Meſſage, which he did with an Air ſufficiently imperious. *Vologeſes* had long reſolved with himſelf to avoid a War with the *Romans*; his Affairs he perceived went wrong; the Siege had no Succeſs; *Tigranes* was well ſupported with Men and Proviſions; ſome *Roman* Legions were ſent into *Armenia*, and others were ready in *Syria* to invade him in his own Kingdom: Beſides, his Horſe, the principal Strength of the *Parthian* Army, was weakened for want of Forage, the Locuſts having eaten up all the Leaves and Graſs. He concealing his Fear, and pretending to a great ſhew of Moderation, replied, that he would ſend Embaſſadors to the *Roman* Emperor, to demand the Inveſtiture of *Armenia*, and eſtabliſh a Peace. He immediately orders *Monæſes* to raiſe the Siege of *Tigranocerta*, and he withdraws with his Army.

[a] This Retreat is commonly imputed to the *Parthians* Fear, and the Threats of *Corbulo*; though ſome are of Opinion, that it was agreed in a private Article, that the War being finiſhed on all ſides, *Vologeſes* ſhould return Home, and *Tigranes* ſhould depart from *Armenia*. The Conditions of the Ceſſation, according to [b] *Dio*, were, that *Vologeſes* ſhould ſend Embaſſadors to *Nero*; ſhould raiſe the Siege, and recall the

[a] Ibid. c. 6. [b] Lib. 62.

Parthian Forces out of *Armenia*. For (as *Tacitus* goes on) why went the *Roman* Forces from *Tigranocerta*, and give up in a time of Peace what they had acquired by War? Could it be ſuppoſed that the *Roman* Legions had better Winter Quarters in the remoteſt Parts of *Cappadocia*, in Cabins erected of a ſudden, than in the Capital of a Kingdom lately fallen into their Hands? Without all doubt the War was deferred by Conſent, to prevent *Vologeſes* from engaging with *Corbulo*, who was unwilling to hazard the Loſs of his Glory he had been ſo long acquiring. As I related before he had ſent for a ſpecial Governor to defend *Armenia*, and now he received Adviſe that *Cæſennius Pætus* was diſpatched in that Quality, and by that time muſt be arrived. The Army therefore was divided into two Parts; the fourth and twelfth Legion, and the fifth lately come from *Mæſia*, and the auxiliary Troops of *Pontus*, *Cappdocia* and *Galatia*, were to obey *Pætus*; the third, the ſixth, and tenth Legions, and the old *Syrian* Troops were to continue with *Corbulo*; the reſt they were to unite or divide as Occaſion required. But the Misfortune was *Corbulo* could not endure a Rival, and *Pætus* was impatient of a Superior; who inſtead of contenting himſelf in being ſecond to *Corbulo*, was always diminiſhing the Glory of his Actions, upbraiding him that his Adventures produced neither Slaughter nor Plunder: That his taking of Towns was imaginary: That he would ſoon impoſe Tributes and Laws upon the *Armenians*, and inſtead of the Shadow of a King, he would force them to live like a conquered People, under the *Roman* Yoke.

[a] In the mean time the Embaſſadors of *Vologeſes* returned from *Rome* without obtaining their Point; and the *Parthians* broke out into open War. *Pætus*, without farther Conſideration enters *Armenia* with two Legions, the fourth commanded by *Famiſulanus Vectonianus*, and the twelfth by *Calavius Sabinus*. There happened an ominous Preſage at his firſt ſetting out; for having made a Bridge over the *Euphrates* without any manner of Cauſe, the Horſe that bore the conſulary Ornaments fled back and ran away; the Victim fled from the Altar in the Moment it ſhould have been ſacrificed, and left the Ceremony imperfect, and the Javelins and Darts of the Soldiers were on fire; a Prodigy the more to be obſerved upon the Account of the *Parthians*, who always fought with miſſive Weapons.

[b] But *Pætus* no ways affected by theſe ominous Preſages, without ever ſecuring his Winter Camp, or laying up Store of Proviſion, paſſes Mount *Taurus* with all Expedition; pretending, that he would retake *Tigranocerta*, and plunder the Countries which *Corbulo* had left untouched. Indeed he took ſome Caſtles at firſt, and acquired ſome Honour and Booty, had he uſed his Glory with Moderation, and managed his Plunder with Prudence; but amuſing himſelf with making Incurſions into a Country which he could not keep, his Proviſions he had taken being corrupted and ſpoiled, and Winter now approaching, he was obliged to withdraw his Army; at the ſame time he ſends Letters to *Cæſar* in a pompous manner,

[a] Ibid. c. 7. [b] Ibid. c. 8.

but with not a Word of Truth, as if he had put an end to the War.

[a] *Corbulo* in the mean time having a ſpecial Regard to the Banks of the *Euphrates*, fortified them with more Gariſons; and fearing the Enemies, who were in continual Motion over all the Plain under Protection of their Camp, might obſtruct his making a Bridge over the River, he faſtened ſeveral great Veſſels with ſtrong Beams, and with Towers planted his Machines, by favour of which he built his Bridge, and repulſed the Enemy. After this he ſeized upon the neighbouring Hills, by the Aſſiſtance of his auxiliary Cohorts, whither he afterwards led up his Legions and encamped; and this he did with ſuch Celerity and Oſtentation of his Power, that the *Parthians* giving over their Deſign of invading *Syria*, turned all their Hopes and Strength upon recovering *Armenia*.

[b] *Pætus* all this while apprehenſive of no Danger near him, kept the fifth Legion remote in *Pontus*, and weakened the remaining Forces by an inconſiderate Indulgence to the Soldiers to leave their Colours, till News was brought him that *Vologeſes*, full of Reſentment, was advancing towards him with a powerful Army. He immediately ſent for the twelfth Legion, preſuming that by this Means the Enemy would imagine his Forces were increaſed. But this very thing betrayed his Weakneſs; however, he might have encamped and protracted the War, if he had been Maſter of Conſtancy ſufficient to purſue his own Reſolves, or Docility to be governed by the Advice of others: But

[a] Ibid. c. 9. [b] Ibid. c. 10.

leſt

leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſtand in need of another's Counſel, he contemned his experienced Officers, propoſed ſtill taking contrary Methods, which proved worſe; and now leaving his Camp, he cried, that he would not defend himſelf by Trenches and Rampires, but by Bodies and Weapons, and ſo advanced with his Legions, as though he intended to give the Enemy Battel. But having loſt a Centurion and a few Soldiers, ſent before to diſcover the *Parthian* Strength, he returned greatly terrified; but perceiving the *Parthians* came on but coldly, reſuming a vain Confidence, he lodged three thouſand of the choiceſt of his Troops upon the Top of Mount *Taurus*, that was near to keep the Paſs againſt *Vologeſes*. In one part of the Plain he planted a Body of *Pannonians*, in which conſiſted the Flower of his Horſe: His Wife and Son he ſhut up in a Caſtle called *Arſamoſata*, and a Cohort appointed to guard them; and thus he diſperſed his Troops, which had he kept together, he might the better have made Head againſt a ſtraggling and roving Enemy. It was with great Difficulty that he was brought to apply to *Corbulo* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Parthian*, ready to attack him, who for his part made no great Haſte to relieve him; by this means to render himſelf more neceſſary, and to increaſe his Glory by the Danger; however, he diſpatched three thouſand out of the three Legions, eight hundred Horſe, and the ſame Number of auxiliary Cohorts.

[a] *Vologeſes*, notwithſtanding he found the Paſſes defended both by Horſe and Foot, without altering his Deſign, ſtruck ſuch a Terror

[a] Ibid. c. 11.

into the *Roman* Horſe by his Power and Threats, that he put them to the Rout, and then broke into the legionary Forces. One Centurion only *Tarquitius Creſcens* had the Courage to defend himſelf in a Tower where he had a Gariſon, and making frequent Sallies, he ſlew the *Barbarians* as they approached; but by the Violence of Fire thrown in upon him he was forced to ſurrender: The Remains of the Infantry ſaved themſelves by taking By-ways, and the Wounded returned to the Camp, magnifying the Valour of the *Parthian* King, the Cruelty and Number of his Soldiers, all which was eaſily believed by thoſe who lay under the ſame Apprehenſions. *Pætus*, inſtead of remedying the Calamity, neglected all the Duties of a General, and ſent again to *Corbulo* in Poſt haſte, conjuring him to haſten away to defend the Enſigns and the Standards, and preſerve the wretched Remains of a routed Army, aſſuring him of his Fidelity, which he profeſſed ſhould be inviolable, ſo long as he lived.

[a] *Corbulo*, unacquainted with Fear, leaves part of his Army in *Syria* to ſecure the Forts he had built on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, and marching the reſt through a part of the Country beſt ſupplied with Proviſion, enters *Comagena*, and thence proceeds to *Cappadocia* and *Armenia*. There followed the Army, beſides the uſual Furniture and Proviſion of War, a Multitude of Camels laden with Corn, to prevent having Hunger, and the Enemy upon him at the ſame time. The firſt of the routed Army that he met was *Pactius* the Centurion of the firſt Enſign, and after him ſeveral Sol-

[a] Ibid. c. 12.

diers,

diers, all excuſing their Flight with different Pretences: He adviſed them all to return to their Colours, and truſt to the Clemency of their General. He repreſented to his own Men the Glory which they already were in Poſſeſſion of; what new Honours they had Opportunity of acquiring; that they were not to fight now for Villages or Towns of the *Armenians* as the Reward of their Courage, but for the Recovery of a *Roman* Camp, and two of their own Legions that were at Stake. If a Crown was beſtowed as a Reward to private Soldiers who had preſerved the Life of a Citizen, what muſt they expect who were to ſave a whole Army? By Speeches of this Nature he redoubled the Ardor which every one had to recover their Relations and Friends, and kept them marching Day and Night without regretting the Fatigue.

[a] *Vologeſes* having Intelligence of *Corbulo*'s Advance, preſſed the *Romans* very hard; ſometimes attacking the Camp in which they were intrenched, at other times the Caſtle where the infirm and diſabled People were lodged, advancing nearer than the *Parthian* Cuſtom was to ſee if he could provoke them to fight. But they contented themſelves to defend their Intrenchments; ſome by order of the General, others by their own Cowardice pretending to wait the Arrival of *Corbulo*; and reſolving, if they found themſelves preſſed to Extremity, to follow the Example of the *Numantine* and *Caudine* Defeat, which Practice they thought they might juſtify, ſince the *Parthians* were at this time more potent than the *Carthaginians*

[a] Ibid. c. 13.

or the *Samnites*. They were beginning now to talk that the Ancients were always commended for their Addreſs, in ſuiting all things to the Times, and ſecuring a ſafe Retreat when Fortune went againſt them. *Pætus* utterly dejected by the Deſpair he obſerved in his Army attempted nothing, contenting himſelf with ſending Letters, complaining of the Injuſtice of the Enterpriſe upon *Armenia* by the *Parthian* King, which of undoubted Right belonged to the *Roman* Empire: adding, that an honourable Peace would be more advantageous on both ſides: That *Vologeſes* ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be exalted by his late Succeſs, which was of no great Moment: That he ſhould conſider he attacked only two Legions with his whole Force, and that the Emperor had all the reſt of the World to defend him.

[a] *Vologeſes* gave no direct Anſwer to this Meſſage, excuſing himſelf by the Abſence of his Brothers *Pacorus* and *Tiridates*, without whom he could not determine any thing in the Affairs of *Armenia:* That a Time and Place ſhould be reſolved on to debate all Things concerning this Matter: That they might diſpoſe as they pleaſed with the Legions, only taking care to have all due Regard to his own, and the Honour of the *Arſacidæ*: After this *Pætus* ſent other Deputies, deſiring a Conference with the King. *Vologeſes* refuſed to admit him, but ſent *Vaſaces* General of his Horſe. *Pætus* urged to him the Exploits of *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, and other Generals, who had diſpoſed of the Kingdom of *Armenia*. *Vaſaces* replied, The Image of Royalty indeed had been in the

[a] Ibid. c. 14.

Hands

Hands of the *Romans*, but the real Power was lodged in the *Parthians*. After great Conteſts on both ſides, it was reſolved to remit the Concluſion till the next Day, and that *Monobazus* Prince of the *Adiabeni* ſhould be preſent as a Witneſs to what ſhould then be agreed on. It was concluded that *Armenia* ſhould be evacuated, and all Gariſons and Forts be put in the Enemies Hands: That the *Romans* might retire where they pleaſed, and *Vologeſes* was to ſend an Embaſſy to the *Roman* Emperor.

[a] While theſe Things were in Agitation, *Pætus* flung a Bridge over the River *Arſania*, which ran by the *Roman* Camp, under pretence of marching over it; but this was done at the Command of the *Parthians*, as a Token of their Victory, it being of no Uſe to them, and the *Romans* went out another Way. A Rumour was diſperſed that the Legions had paſſed *ſub jugum*, and ſuffered many other Indignities; for the *Armenians* entered the Camp before they broke up, ſeized the Avenues, and ſtopped upon the Road all the Horſes or Slaves which had been taken from them: They ſtrip'd the *Roman* Soldiers, took away their Arms, not daring to murmur, for fear of creating a new Quarrel. *Vologeſes* made a ſort of Trophy of the Arms and Trunks of the Slain as a Monument of his Victory, withdrew himſelf from the View of the *Roman* Legions to diſcover his Modeſty, after he had glutted his Pride, and paſſed the River *Arſania* upon an Elephant, with his Nobility on Horſeback, which was cauſed by a Report that the *Romans* had not made the Bridge firm enough;

[a] Ibid. c. 15.

but

but thoſe who went over it experienced the contrary.

[a] This diſhonourable Treaty was not forced for want of Proviſion, of which the *Roman* Soldiers burnt great Quantity upon their leaving the Place; whereas the Enemy wanted both Men and Forage, and were upon the Point of drawing off, as *Corbulo* declared after, who was not then above the Diſtance of three Days march. He added farther, that *Vologeſes* had obliged *Pætus* to ſwear upon the Eagles and the *Roman* Standards in the Preſence of the *Parthians*, that the *Roman* Troops ſhould not enter *Armenia* till an Anſwer ſhould return from the Emperor whether he conſented to the Articles. This is added to aggravate and render the Matter more ſcandalous; but moſt certain it is, that *Pætus* in one Day retired above forty Miles, abandoning the diſabled Men every where, an Act no leſs infamous than if he had turned his Back in Battel. *Corbulo*, with his Army, met him on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, without diſplaying his Enſigns and Arms, to avoid reproaching him with his Misfortunes. The Soldiers were deeply affected with the Diſgrace of their old Companions, and ſhed ſo many Tears, that they could not mutually ſalute each other; The preſent Calamity had ſtifled all Senſe of Honour and Glory, and only Compaſſion remained for their Calamities.

[b] The Conference of the Generals was very ſhort, one complaining that his Labour had been fruitleſs, and that the War might have been ended with the Ruin of the *Parthians*; the

[a] Ibid. c. 16. [b] Ibid. c. 17.

other

other replying, that with a little Labour they might recover and make a Change by the Misfortunes of the Barbarians: That Things were yet well enough: That both Armies ought to unite and enter *Armenia*, very much weakened by the Departure of the *Parthian* King. *Corbulo* replied, He had no order from the Emperor: That he had abandoned his Province to ſave the *Roman* Legions from Deſtruction: That he did not know what the *Parthians* might attempt: That he muſt return into *Syria*, and pray for good Fortune: That his Infantry, tired with ſo long Marches on Foot, might come up with the *Parthian* Horſe, who had a plain Country to paſs, and eager upon Victory. *Pætus* took up his Winter Quarters in *Cappadocia*. *Vologeſes* ſent Embaſſadors to *Corbulo* to raiſe the Forts he had caſt up on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, and leave the River open as the Bounds of the two Empires: The other demanded that the *Parthians* ſhould quit *Armenia*, which for ſome time they refuſed, but at laſt conſented to; and *Corbulo* gave them Satisfaction on his part: He demoliſhed the Forts he had raiſed beyond the *Euphrates*; and the *Armenians* were left to their own Will. In the mean time Trophies were erected at *Rome*, and triumphal Arches on the Capitol Hill, which Honours were decreed by the Senate before the War was finiſhed, without conſidering the State of Affairs, or what might be the Event. ÆR. ARSAC. 319.

[a] In the beginning of the Spring *Vologeſes* ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome* to repreſent that the Diſpute at preſent was not as heretofore

[a] Tacit. lib. 15. c. 24.

who

who ſhould poſſeſs the Crown of *Armenia*; ſince the Gods, who are the Arbiters of the World, and diſpoſe of Empires at their Pleaſure, had beſtowed that on the *Parthians*, not without ſome Diſhonour to the *Romans*: That he had ſpared at firſt *Tigranes* whom he had kept beſieged, and after that *Pætus*, with two of the *Romans* Legions, when it was in his Power to have deſtroyed them. His Strength had been ſufficiently tried, and now he gave Teſtimonies of his Clemency, that *Tiridates* would not refuſe to come to *Rome* to receive his Diadem, if he were not detained by the Religion of his Prieſthood: That he would go in Perſon to render this Honour to the Image of the Emperor and the *Roman* Eagles, and begin his Reign in the Preſence of the Legions.

[a] The Letters of *Pætus* not agreeing with this kind of Repreſentation, he having given an Account that all was entire as before, the Centurion who attended the Embaſſadors was asked how the Affairs ſtood. He replied, the *Romans* were driven out of *Armenia*. The Inſolence of this barbarous People, who came now to demand as a Right what they had ſeized by Force, obliged *Nero* to aſſemble the principal Men of *Rome* to take Advice in this Matter; and all of them concluded that a dubious War ought to be preferred to ſuch a ſcandalous Peace; and it was reſolved to put the Conduct of it into the Hands of *Corbulo*, who had a long Experience of the Army and the Enemy. The Embaſſadors were preſented and ſent back, being flattered with Hopes, that if *Tiridates*

[a] Ibid. c. 25.

ſhould

ſhould come in Perſon to ask the Crown of *Armenia*, he ſhould obtain it. [a] In the mean time the Adminiſtration of *Syria* was given to *Cincius* (or *Ceſtius Gallus*, according to *Joſephus*) and the Command of the War to *Corbulo*, with the fifteenth Legion remanded from *Pannonia* under the Command of *Marius Celſus*. Next they ſent Diſpatches to the Kings and Governors of Provinces with Inſtructions to obey him in all Matters, almoſt equalling his Power with that of *Pompey* in the War with the Pirates. *Pætus* returning Home full of Apprehenſion of ſuffering under the Emperor's Frowns, *Nero* contented himſelf to puniſh him with Railery; telling him, he pardoned him upon the Spot, for fear he being ſo ſubject to be ſcared, ſhould fall ill if he deferred it.

[b] *Corbulo* having removed into *Syria* the fourth and twelfth Legion who had loſt their beſt Soldiers and were unfit for Service, takes with him the third and the ſixth, whoſe Valour he had proved, and carried them into *Armenia* with the fifth left in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, which had not ſhared in the Defeat, and the fifteenth lately remanded from *Pannonia*. He joined to theſe Troops the Flower of the Companies out of *Egypt* and *Illyria*, and the auxiliary Forces of the neighbouring Kings. The Rendezvous was appointed at *Melitene*, a City of *Cappadocia*, where he intended to paſs the *Euphrates* with his Army. After he had made a general Review, with the uſual Sacrifices, he made an Harangue to his Soldiers, extolling his own Exploits and the Fortune of

[a] De Bell. Judaic. lib. 2. c. 24.
[b] Ibid. c. 26.

that

that Prince, under whoſe auſpicious Banner he fought, not mentioning the late Misfortunes, which he imputed to a want of Experience in *Pætus*; all which he delivered with the Reſolution of a gallant Man, which in him ſupplied the Place of Eloquence.

ÆR. ARSAC. 319. [a] After this he marched by the Way *Lucullus* had entered, having firſt opened and cleared the Paſſages, yet civilly received the Embaſſadors of *Tiridates* and *Vologeſes*, who came to propoſe an Accommodation. He ſent back with them ſeveral Officers of his Army, to repreſent that Things were not come to that height: That their Difference muſt of Neceſſity be decided by Battel: That the *Romans* had been often fortunate in War, and the *Parthians* not unfortunate, which ought to be a Leſſon to both Parties, not to be too much elated with Succeſs: That it was the Intereſt of *Tiridates* not to make Devaſtation of a Country which he hoped to enjoy, and of *Vologeſes* to preſerve the Friendſhip of the Emperor, which might be of greater Advantage to him than to be his Enemy: That he was not inſenſible of the inteſtine Wars with which the *Parthian* Dominions were miſerably haraſſed, and the fierce obſtinate Temper of his People: That he ought to reflect the *Romans* had only this War upon their Hands, and peaceably poſſeſſed the reſt of the World. He ſoon ſeconded his Words with Actions, forcing divers of the great Men that revolted, firſt to quit *Armenia*, making Incurſions on their Territories, taking their Forts, and filling all Places with Dread and Fear.

[a] Ibid. c. 27.

Corbulo

[a] *Corbulo* no way diſagreeable to this barbarous People, but on the contrary generally eſteemed for his Virtue, they favourably received his Advice, and with regard to a general Peace, *Vologeſes* anſwered with great Moderation. *Tiridates* likewiſe demanded Time and Place for an Interview. The *Parthians* propoſed the Place where *Pætus* had been beſieged with his Legions, as a Teſtimony of the Victory they had gained; beſides, the Place was not far diſtant. *Corbulo* did not pretend to refuſe it, which tended to augment his Glory: However, to ſhew he had no Intention to renew the Memory of the Diſgrace received by *Pætus*, he gave his Son, who was Tribune of a Cohort, the Command of ſome Troops who were to cover the dead Bodies of thoſe unfortunately killed in the Defeat. Upon the Day appointed, *Tiberius Alexander* an illuſtrious *Roman* Knight, and *Annius Vivianus* Son-in-law of *Corbulo*, who had not yet attained the Age of Senator, then Commander of the fifth Legion, came to the Camp of *Tiridates* in an honourable manner, to remain his Pledge and Aſſurance for the Obſervation of all Agreements: *Corbulo* took along with him twenty Horſe, whom as ſoon as the King eſpied, he diſmounted firſt, and *Corbulo* inſtantly after, who when they had mutually embraced each other, he commended the young Prince for having preferred Moderation, as the moſt proper Way to obtain his Purpoſe.

[b] The Prince, after he had extolled his high Deſcent, added with Modeſty, that he would go to *Rome*, and proſtrate at the Feet of the

[a] Ibid. c. 28.

[b] Ibid. c. 29.

Emperor

Emperor one of the *Arſacidæ* crown'd with Victory. It was agreed that *Tiridates* ſhould lay down his Crown at the Feet of the Emperor's Statue, and not reſume it till he received it at *Rome* from his own Hands. This Interview ended with new Embraces; and ſome Days after the Armies appeared in ſight of each other, with a great deal of Pomp and Magnificence. On one ſide was the *Parthian* Cavalry in Squadrons under their Cornets, and on the other the *Roman* Legions with their Eagles; their Enſigns and Images of the Gods diſpoſed round in form of a Temple: In the middle was the *Sella Curulis* placed upon a Tribunal, and the Statue of *Nero*; to which *Tiridates* approaching, after the uſual Sacrifices, he took off his Diadem, and placed it at the Feet of the Statue, in the Preſence of both Armies, now filled with Admiration and Aſtoniſhment, which was heightned, by comparing the paſt Diſgrace with their preſent Glory; and the *Roman* Legions rejoiced to ſee the Victor humbled in a Poſture, as if he were carried Captive to *Rome* in Triumph.

[a] *Corbulo*, to conclude this Ceremony, made a ſplendid Entertainment for *Tiridates*, and after many Careſſes, anſwered all the Queſtions he made him, who began to enquire why the Centurion came to acquaint him when the Night-guard was ſet: Why the Trumpets ſounded when Dinner was over: Why they came with a Flambeau in their Hands to ſet fire to the augural Pile. The General gave very pompous Reaſons for all theſe Matters, which raviſhed the young Prince with Admiration of theſe an-

[a] Ibid. c. 30.

tient Cuſtoms. [a] The next Morning *Tiridates* deſired time to take Leave of his Mother and Brothers before he undertook ſo long a Voyage, and left his Daughter as an Hoſtage, with ſome Letters full of Reſpect addreſſed to the Emperor. He found *Pacorus* in *Media*; and the *Parthian* King was keeping his Court at *Ecbatana*, impatient to know what had paſſed. He had ſent expreſly to *Corbulo* to deſire that *Tiridates* might not wear any Badge of Slavery: That his Sword ſhould not be taken from him: That he might be admitted to viſit the Governors of Provinces, without being ſuffered to wait at the Gates; in ſhort, that the ſame Honours ſhould be paid to him at *Rome* as to the Conſuls. This barbarous Prince, uſed to the manner of treating Captives and Slaves in War, did not know that the *Romans*, content with Empire, deſpiſe all the reſt as a vain Oſtentation.

The Succeſs of this Negotiation was immediately tranſmitted to *Rome* by *Corbulo*; and *Nero* was ſo tranſported with the Glory of placing a Diadem on the Head of *Tiridates*, that he ordered a Medal to be ſtruck with this Inſcription, *Nero Div. Claud. Cæſaris Armeniac.* Yet notwithſtanding ſo much Honour and ſo many Conqueſts were added to the *Roman* Empire by the Victories and the Exploits of *Corbulo*, he was ſome time after ſent for Home by this ſame Emperor (who had often called him his Father, and his Benefactor) and barbarouſly put to death by his Order at *Cenchreæ*, out of Jealouſy, as if he were the fitteſt Perſon to manage the Government of the

[a] Ibid. c. 31.

World. Thus fell the brave *Corbulo*, ſays the Hiſtorian, who had reſtrained the Violence of the *Germans*, ſubdued *Armenia*, broken the *Parthian* Spirits, and brought the Line of *Arſaces* on their Knees before *Nero*.

Ær. Arsac. 321. [a] The Preparations for this extraordinary Journey were two whole Years in getting ready; the Circumſtances of it, and the pompous Reception of this foreign Prince by *Nero*, are particularly recited by *Dio Caſſius*, abridged by *Xiphilin* in this manner. The Conſulſhip, ſays the Hiſtorian, of *Caius Teleſinus* and *Suetonius Paulinus* was remarkable for two Events, whereof one was very honourable to the Empire, and the other very diſgraceful: *Nero* ſung and play'd upon the Harp in publick, and after he had won the Prize, was crowned with the Applauſes of all the People: Then he drove Chariots in the Circus. The other Event is the Journey of *Tiridates* to *Rome*, whither he brought not only his own Children, but alſo thoſe of *Vologeſes*, *Pacorus* and *Monobaſus*, and to which he was conducted from the Banks of the *Euphrates*, with all the Pomp and Magnificence of a Triumph. He was remarkable among other Things for the Advantage of his Stature, and his good Mien, which wonderfully added to the Splendor of his Race, and the Reputation of his Wiſdom: The Grandeur of his Train, and the Sumptuouſneſs of his Equipage, anſwered to the Eminence of his Dignity: He was followed by three thouſand *Parthians* on Horſeback, beſides a great Number of *Romans* who were mixed with them: The Cities through which he paſſed were ſplendidly adorned, and

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 63. Xiphilin. in Nerone.

he was received in them with the Acclamations of the Inhabitants: The People furniſhed him with every thing for nine Months, in which time he performed his Journey; though he ſpent two hundred thouſand Drachms every Day. *Tiridates* made all this Journey on Horſeback as far as *Italy*, and the Queen his Wife with him on Horſeback likewiſe, wearing a Golden Helmet, that ſhe might not ſhew her Face, according to the Cuſtom of her Country. But when he was in *Italy* he made uſe of the Chariots which *Nero* had ſent him at *Naples*, paſſing through the Country of *Picenum*.

[a] When he approached towards the Emperor they offered to take away his Sword, but he refuſed to part with it, and only ſuffered it to be faſtened to his Scabbard. He put his Knee to the Ground, and lifted up his Hands to Heaven, as it were to adore him, and call him *Lord*, which pleaſed *Nero* ſo much, that he paid him very great Honours, and at *Puteoli* gave him the Diverſion of a Combat of Gladiators. *Patrobius* his Freedman had the Care of it, and made an Expence ſo extraordinary, that in a whole Day there was nothing ſeen upon the Amphitheatre but Men, Women and Children of *Ethiopia*.

[b] *Tiridates* ſhot at the Beaſts from his Throne; and, it is ſaid, that at one Shoot with his Bow he killed two Bulls: *Nero* after that carried him to *Rome*, and ſet his Crown upon his Head. The City was illuminated with an infinite Number of Lights, and garniſhed with all ſorts of Flowers. There was in the Streets a prodi-

[a] Ibid. [b] Ibid.

gious Croud of People, eſpecially in the publick Place. In the midſt of this Place were ſeveral Citizens clothed in White, with Branches of Laurels: The other Parts were filled with Soldiers in poliſhed Armor: The Tops of the Houſes were covered with People: *Nero* entered into the publick Place at break of Day, clothed in a purple Robe that was fit for the Ceremony of a Triumph, followed by the Senate, and encompaſſed with his Guards, aſcended a Throne, and ſate down in the chief Seat. Afterwards *Tiridates* and thoſe of his Retinue paſſed through the midſt of the Guards that lin'd the Paſſage to the Throne; and when they were come underneath the Throne they laid themſelves proſtrate, as they had done the firſt time to adore the Emperor. Then there aroſe a great Noiſe, at which *Tiridates* was ſo aſtoniſhed, that his Speech failed him, and he thought himſelf loſt. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as Silence was commanded he took Courage, and conſtraining his natural Pride to ſubmit to the Neceſſity of the Time, he reſolved to make choice of a Stile unworthy of his Greatneſs, provided it might contribute to the obtaining what he deſired. He ſpoke in theſe Terms: *I am proud, my Lord, to become your Slave; even I, who am of the Line of* Arſaces, *and Brother to the Kings* Vologeſes *and* Pacorus: *I am come hither to adore you, and to pay you the ſame Veneration which I render to the God* Mithra: *My Deſtiny is ſuch as you ſhall pleaſe to afford me, and my whole Fortune depends entirely upon you. Nero* made him the following Anſwer: *You have done extremely well to come hither to viſit me: You ſhall receive from my Liberality ſuch Gifts as your Father could not leave you, and of which your Brother*

Brother could not ſecure you the Poſſeſſion. I make you King of Armenia, *to inſtruct both you and them that I have Power to give and to take away Kingdoms.* After that he commanded him to aſcend the Steps of the Throne, and to ſit down upon a Seat which had been prepared for him. When he was ſate at the Feet of *Nero* he received the Diadem from his Hand, with the Acclamations of all the People: Which done, there was a great Aſſembly at the Theatre of *Pompey* by order of the Senate. Not only the Scene, but all the inſide of the Theatre, and every Body that came into it were covered with Gold, which made that Day be called *The Golden Day:* The Covering which was ſpread over it, to defend the Spectators from the Heat of the Sun, was adorned with a rich Stuff of the Colour of Purple, which repreſented a Heaven full of Stars, in the midſt of which *Nero* appeared driving a Chariot.

[a] Theſe Shews were followed by a magnificent Feaſt; after which the Emperor ſung publickly, and drove a Chariot in a green Habit and Cap, reſembling other Charioteers. A Sight ſo extraordinary gave *Tiridates* a Contempt for *Nero*, and an Eſteem for *Corbulo*, whom he praiſed extremely; blaming him only for one Thing, which was, that he could have Patience to ſerve ſuch a Maſter. He did not diſguiſe his Thoughts to *Nero*, to whom one Day he took the Liberty of ſaying; *My Lord, you have an excellent Servant in the Perſon of* Corbulo. But *Nero* gave no Ear to him. On every other Occaſion he only conſidered how to flatter his Paſſions, and uſed all ſorts of Complaiſance to obtain his Favour. He likewiſe re-

[a] Ibid.

ceived Preſents of him in Recompence, eſteemed, as it was ſaid, at five hundred thouſand Drachms, and permiſſion to rebuild *Artaxata* his Capital. This Prince carried with him from *Rome* a great Number of Workmen, which *Nero* had granted him for this Purpoſe, and ſeveral others whom he had engaged with Money. But *Corbulo* permitted none to embark with him, but ſuch as the Emperor had aſſigned him, which encreaſed the Sentiments both of Contempt and Eſteem, which we have already ſaid he had for one and the other. He returned not by the Sea of *Ionia* and *Illyria* by which he came, but by the Paſſage that ſeparates *Brunduſium* from *Dirrhachium*: He ſaw in his Way the fineſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of *Aſia*, which made him admire the Power of the Empire. When he returned into his own Country, he rebuilt the City of *Artaxata*, and called it *Neronia*.

The Account given by * *Suetonius* of the Reception of the *Parthian* Prince is much ſhorter, but expreſſive. Amongſt the Number of Shews, ſays he, exhibited by *Nero*, we may place, and not improperly, the Entrance of *Tiridates* King of *Armenia* into the City. The Day deſigned for the Solemnity was put off by publick Edict, by reaſon of ill Weather, for ſome time; but at length it proving fair, the Emperor's Guards were placed about the Temples in the Forum in their Arms, and he appeared ſitting upon a Throne of Ivory before the *Roſtra* in his triumphal Habit, in the midſt of his military Enſigns and Banners. In this Pomp and Formality he received *Tiridates*,

who threw himſelf immediately at his Feet, but he took him up with his right Hand and kiſſed him; after which, having taken off his *Tiara*, he put the Diadem upon his Head, and a Perſon which had been Prætor being appointed to interpret, he pronounced aloud to the People whatever *Tiridates* ſaid: After which the Emperor brought him into the Theatre, where *Tiridates* having made new Complements of Submiſſion and Humility, he took him and placed him on his right ſide next himſelf: Upon which he was ſaluted Emperor; and having cauſed a Crown of Laurel to be carried into the Capitol, he ſhut up the Temple of *Janus* as a Token of univerſal Peace and Tranquillity. The ſame [a] *Hiſtorian* remarks in another Place: It is almoſt incredible, ſays he, and yet it is true, the Emperor *Nero* allowed *Tiridates* twenty thouſand Crowns a Day whilſt he continued in *Rome*, and at his Departure he made him a Preſent of above a hundred Millions of Seſterces more.

[b] But this noble Reception of the *Armenian* King made no Impreſſion upon *Vologeſes* the *Parthian*, who could never be perſuaded to go to *Rome* to pay a Viſit to *Nero*, whatſoever Inſtances he made him to oblige him to it. On the contrary he was weary of his Importunities, and to get rid of him, wrote to him in theſe Terms. *It is eaſier for you than me to paſs over ſo vaſt an Extent of Sea, wherefore if you think fit to come into* Aſia *we will agree upon the Place of Interview.* [c] *Nero* was very much incenſed at this Anſwer, but inſtead of paſſing the Seas, to

[a] In Nerone. [b] Xiphilin. in Nerone.
[c] Sueton. in Nerone.

march againſt him as he deſigned, all his Buſineſs was to drive Chariots, to ſing, and to act Tragedies. *Nero* ſoon after was ſlain, having had in his Diſtreſs ſome Thoughts of flying for Protection to the *Parthian* King.

[a] The State of *Armenia* being thus compoſed, *Vologeſes* took the Advantage of the civil Wars that followed in the *Roman* Empire by the Death of *Nero*, and led his Army over the *Euphrates*, but was repelled by *Licinius Mucianus* the Preſident of *Syria* at the Head of four Legions. The Succeſſor of *Nero* was *Galba*, who was ſlain after a ſhort Reign of ſeven Months. *Otho* had the Sovereignty for three Months, and ſtabb'd himſelf; and then the Conteſt for the Empire of the World was carried on between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*. The latter being ſaluted Emperor by the Legions in *Syria*, he ſent Embaſſadors to the *Parthian* and *Armenian* Kings, that they would obſerve the Peace, and not offer to inſult the Empire, now the Legions were employed in the civil Wars. *Vologeſes* ſent Embaſſadors, who found him at *Alexandria*, and in their Maſter's Name offered him the Aſſiſtance of forty thouſand Horſe, which *Veſpaſian*, after many Compliments and Acknowledgments, refuſed, and referred the Embaſſadors to the *Roman* Senate to confirm the Peace. When they came to *Rome* the Alliance was renewed; and, ſays *Suetonius*, they had it in Commiſſion from the *Parthian* King, to preſs, above all Things, that the Memory of *Nero* might be made venerable to Poſterity. In ſhort (as he goes on) when I was a Youth, a Perſon, whoſe Condition and Quality was un-

[a] Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 2. c. 6. [b] In Nerone.

known, having the Confidence to ſay he was *Nero*, his very Name was ſo grateful to the *Parthians*, that they eſpouſed his Pretences, aſſiſted him vigorouſly, and put the Senate to no ſmall Trouble, before they delivered him up to be puniſhed.

[a] The City of *Jeruſalem* being taken by *Titus* the Son of *Veſpaſian*, he came to *Antioch*; but making no long ſtay there, went to the City *Zeugma* upon the *Euphrates*, where he was attended by an Embaſſy from *Vologeſes* the *Parthian* King, with a Compliment of a golden Crown, upon his Conqueſts over the *Jews*. *Titus* accepted the Preſent, treated the Embaſſadors with great Magnificence, and then returned to *Antioch*.

[b] *Joſephus* (who wrote his Hiſtory of the Wars of the *Jews* originally for the Uſe of the *Parthians*, as may be ſeen in his Preface) after *Veſpaſian* came to the Empire, relates a moſt ſad Calamity that fell upon *Antiochus* the King of *Comagena*, in which the *Parthian* King being concerned, it muſt not be omitted in this Place. *Cæſennius Pætus* was then Governor of *Syria* in the room of *Mucianus*, and upon ſome Intelligence, he ſent Word to *Veſpaſian*, that *Antiochus* and his Son *Epiphanes* were reſolved to go off from the *Romans*, and that they had already treated about it with the King of *Parthia*: Inſiſting alſo upon the Neceſſity of preventing the Miſchief by ſtriking the firſt Blow, for otherwiſe it might be enough to ſet the Empire into a Flame. Whether this proceeded from Truth or Malice is difficult to deter- ÆR. ÆRAC. 326.

[a] Joſeph. de Bell. Judaic. lib. 7. c. 24.
[b] Joſeph. ibid. c. 27.

mine;

mine; but whatever might be the Cauſe, *Cæſar* could not in Prudence neglect the Advice, either in reſpect of the Neighbourhood of thoſe two Kings, which made the Caſe ſtill more dangerous, or in regard that *Samoſata* being the capital City of *Comagena*, and bordering upon the *Euphrates*, the *Parthians* might paſs and repaſs at Pleaſure, and ſecure themſelves at Hand of a ſafe Retreat.

[a] *Veſpaſian* was ſo poſſeſſed with the Credit of the Story, that he left *Cæſennius* to his own Diſcretion, and with a Commiſſion to manage as he thought fit for the Benefit of the Empire. The Governor loſt no time in making the beſt of his Deputation, for he fell immediately into *Comagena* with the ſixth Legion, and ſome Companies and Squadrons of Foot and Horſe, with *Ariſtobulus* the King of *Chalcis*, and *Sohemus* the King of *Emeſa* to ſecond him. *Antiochus* and his People being under no Apprehenſions of ſuch an Attempt, he entered the Country without any Oppoſition, the *Comagenians* being in no Condition to encounter him: And the News of this Incurſion was a moſt unaccountable Surpriſe to *Antiochus*, who had never entertained the leaſt Thought of a Miſunderſtanding with the *Romans*. The Reſolution he took in this Difficulty was to leave the Kingdom juſt as it ſtood at that inſtant, and to take his Wife and Children along with him, as an Inſtance of his good Faith toward the Empire, and likewiſe as a pregnant Proof of his Innocence. Hereupon he withdrew about a hundred and thirty Furlongs from the City, and encamped upon a Plain. *Cæſennius* in the

[a] Ibid.

mean

mean time ſends Soldiers to take Poſſeſſion of *Samoſata*, and to keep Gariſon there, whilſt he himſelf with other Troops marches after *Antiochus*. But all this Violence and Injuſtice were not ſufficient yet to provoke the King to any unfriendly Act againſt the *Romans*, or to do any thing more than to lament his hard Fortune, and to bear all Things with Patience. But his Sons, it ſeems, *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus*, that were youthful, martial and brave, could not in Honour but betake themſelves to their Arms; ſo that drawing out what Strength they were able to make they gave the *Romans* Battel, fought it out all Day, and in the end ſhewed a Conduct anſwerable to their Valour, for they came off with very little Loſs.

[a] The Fortune of this Day was favourable to *Antiochus*, but all was too little to put a Stop to the Retreat he had reſolved upon, for he took his Wife and Daughters away with him into *Cilicia*. And this ſcrupulous Integrity of his went ſo far, that his Soldiers were quite diſpirited; for what could they hope for, they ſaid, when the King himſelf deſpaired, ſo they deſerted their Prince in that Diſtraction, and went over to the *Romans*. All that *Epiphanes* and his Brother had now to do was to ſave themſelves before it was too late; and ſo with eight Horſemen more they paſſed the *Euphrates* (where they were now ſecure) in their Way to *Vologeſes* the King of *Parthia*. This generous Prince upon their Arrival did not treat them like Fugitives, but with that Royal State and Reſpect that became their Birth and Quality. *Antiochus* being now come to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*,

[a] Ibid.

Cæſennius

Cæsennius sent an Officer to take him into Custody, and carry him bound to *Rome*. But *Vespasian* was too generous to treat a crowned Head at that rate, and chose rather to shew a Respect to the Memory of an antient Friendship, than to revenge himself for a supposed Injury; wherefore he ordered his Chains to be taken off upon the Way, his Journey to *Rome* respited, and himself to make some Stay at *Lacedæmon*, where *Vespasian* furnished him Provisions suitable to the Dignity of a Royal Expence.

[a] This honourable Way of proceeding toward *Antiochus*, did not only deliver the Brothers from the Dread and Anxiety they were in for fear of their Father, but put them in Hopes even of a Reconciliation with *Cæsar* himself, especially upon the Intercession of *Vologeses*, that they might be permitted to go to *Rome*, and *Cæsar* to give Way to it; for though they were very easy as it was under the Protection of the *Parthian* King, yet they had no mind to live without the Pale of the Empire: In short, they came to *Rome*, and their Father was brought thither soon after, where they were all three entertained with high Demonstrations of Affection and Esteem. [b] *Dio* takes Notice of these Transactions; adding, that when *Vologeses* undertook to mediate for the two young Princes at the Court of *Rome*, tinctured deeply with the Pride of his Family, he wrote in this Stile; Arsaces *the King of Kings to* Flavius Vespasian; the Emperor without resenting the Affront, omitted all his Imperial Titles, and directed his Answer; Flavius Vespasian *to* Arsaces *the King of Kings*.

[a] Ibid. [b] Lib. 66.

[a] At

[a] At this time, ſays *Joſephus*, the People known now by the Name of *Alanes*, formerly called *Scythians*, inhabiting near the River *Tanais*, and the Lake of *Mæotis*, joined in a Confederacy with the King of *Hircania* to break into *Media*, and lay waſte the Country; this King being Maſter of the only Paſſage into that Country, which they ſay *Alexander* ſo ordered, as to have it ſhut up with Iron Gates. This Paſs being now laid open, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the Place, without either Suſpicion or Reſiſtance, and carried off a Booty in Goods and Cattle, to a mighty Value. This Inroad put *Pacorus* the *Median* King into ſuch a Fright, that he left his Kingdom at their Mercy, and flying for his own Safety into Crags and ſtrong Holds, he obtained at laſt to redeem his Wife and Concubines for a hundred Talents. With the ſame Succeſs they preſſed forward, ſpoiling and making Havock all the Way they went, without the leaſt Reſiſtance, up to the Borders of *Armenia*, *Tiridates* the *Parthian* being King. This Prince advanced up to them with all his Forces, and fought them, but had great Difficulty to eſcape being taken alive in the Battel; for the Enemy had thrown the Nooſe of a Halter over his Head in the Action, and had drawn him off, if he had not in the very inſtant cut the Rope with his Sword, and got away. The Succeſs of this Engagement made theſe Barbarians more bloody and inſolent than they were before, and encouraged them to attack the Provinces ſubject to the *Parthian* King. *Vologeſes* was alarmed at theſe Incurſions, and diſ-

ÆR. ARSAC. 329.

[a] Ibid.

truſting

ſtruſting the Power of his own Kingdom to repel theſe Invaders, he applied for Succours to the *Roman* Emperor, and deſired one of the Sons of *Veſpaſian* to command them. [a] *Domitian* his youngeſt Son uſed all the Art and Means he could invent to obtain that Employment; but, as *Dio* relates, *Veſpaſian* denied abſolutely to aſſiſt him, and ſent him Word he would not interpoſe in Matters he was not concerned in: Theſe *Scythians* having depopulated all wherever they came, without any other Advantage, returned Home laden with Booty into their own Country.

Vologeſes reſenting the Anſwer he received from *Rome*, reſolves to break the Alliance, and enters *Syria* with an Army, but without Succeſs, it is ſuppoſed; for *Aurelius Victor* relates, that *Vologeſes* the *Parthian* was compelled to make Peace with the *Romans*. [b] The remaining part of the Life of this Prince ſeems to have been free from foreign and domeſtick Wars, ſo that he had Leiſure now to conſult the Buſineſs of Peace, and provide for the Ornament of his Empire; and for that Purpoſe he built a City in the Neighbourhood of *Babylon*, and called it after his own Name *Vologeſocerta*. In what Year this Prince died is uncertain: He left two Sons behind him, *Pacorus* and *Choſroes*, after a Reign, as is ſuppoſed, of about forty Years.

ÆR. ARSAC. 346.

[a] Sueton. in Domitiano lib. 66.
[b] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 6. c. 26.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Pacorus.

PACORUS by the Conſtitution of the Kingdom ſucceeded his Father in the Throne of *Parthia*; the Actions of this Prince are ſo obſcure, that the *Roman* Hiſtorians have ſcarce preſerved any thing concerning him: It may only be collected from an Epigram in [a] *Martial*, how fearful the Emperor *Domitian* was, leſt he ſhould give Countenance to a Perſon who pretended himſelf to be *Nero*, and by that means diſturb the Peace of the Empire. The Poet introduces a poor ſpunging Fellow, under the Name of *Philomuſus*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to tell and invent News in order to fill his Belly. ÆR. ARSAC. 346.

[a] Lib. 9. Epigram 36.

Artibus

Artibus his ſemper cœnam Philomuſe *mereris*
Plurima dum fingis ſed quaſi vera refers,
Scis quid in Arſacia Pacorus *deliberet aula*
Rhenanam *numeras* Sarmaticamque *manum.*
Verba Ducis Daci *Cattis* mandata reſignas;
Victricem laurum quam venit ante vides, &c.

Had this Prince engaged in any Wars with the *Romans*, or with the neighbouring Provinces, ſome relation would be found in the Hiſtories, or in the Lives of the Emperors, ſo that it may be concluded that he ſpent moſt of his Reign in Peace, rather conſulting how to adorn than to enlarge his Empire; for [a] *Ammianus Marcellinus* records, that *Cteſiphon* that had been founded many Years before by *Bardanes*, was by this Prince enlarged and ſurrounded with Walls, and filled with Numbers of Inhabitants. The Country of *Oſrhoene* in *Meſopotamia*, then under the *Parthian* Government, was ſold by *Pacorus* to one *Abgarus* for a great Sum of Money (as may be collected from *Suidas*) who took upon him the Title of a King. *Dio* ſeems to intimate, that the *Parthians*, under the Reign of this Prince, were haraſſed with Seditions and Wars among themſelves, wherein *Pacorus* obtained the Hatred of his Subjects; who inſtead of receiving his Son *Parthamaſiris* to be their King, upon the Death of *Pacorus*, they placed his Brother *Choſroes* in the Throne, after a Reign of about ſeventeen Years.

[a] Hiſt. lib. 23. lib. 68.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Choſroes.

UPON the Death of *Pacorus*, the Eſtates of *Parthia* for ſome Reaſons put by his Son *Parthamaſiris*, and placed the Crown upon the Head of *Choſroes*, or *Hoſroes* his younger Brother, who had no ſooner poſſeſſed himſelf of the Sovereignty, but he reſolved to fix his Nephew in the Kingdom of *Armenia*, to prevent his making of Parties among the Nobility for the Recovery of his Right. The King of that Country was *Exedares* the Son of *Tiridates*, who was now dead; he was the lawful Heir, and confirmed in the Throne by the unanimous Conſent of all his Subjects. *Trajan* the *Roman* Emperor ſeemed to approve of their Election, though they had neglected the Ceremony of applying to him as they ought to have done upon the Ær. Arsac. 364.

Vacancy of the Throne; but when he heard that the *Parthian* King had taken upon him to diſpoſe of the Crown of *Armenia*, he reſented the Indignity, and reſolved to carry a War into his Country. Upon this Occaſion the Emperor *Julian* in his *Cæſars* introduces [a] *Trajan*, delivering himſelf thus. *I had no Deſign of attacking the* Parthians *if they had not offended my imperial Dignity, by offering to invade the Kingdom of* Armenia; *nor could my advanced Years, that ought to have excuſed me from the Fatigues of War, divert me from this Deſign.*

[b] *Choſroes* in the mean time invades *Armenia* with Succeſs; and expelling *Exedares* out of *Armenia* the Greater, and *Maniſſarus* a petty Prince, who, during the civil Wars among the *Parthians*, had ſeized upon *Armenia* the Leſs, he had no other Enemy to encounter, and ſeizing the whole Kingdom for the Uſe of his Nephew *Parthamaſiris*, he had him crowned King. [c] *Trajan* having Intelligence of this Revolution reſolved upon his *Parthian* Expedition; under pretence, ſays *Xiphilin*, that the King of *Armenia*, inſtead of receiving the Crown from his Hand, had received it from the *Parthians*, but he had indeed no other Motive than that of Ambition.

[d] When the Emperor had advanced as far as *Athens* upon this Expedition, the Embaſſadors of *Choſroes* the *Parthian* King met him, who ſent to deſire a Peace with him, and brought Preſents to give him from their Maſter; for when *Choſroes* had received Advice of the Preparations of *Trajan*, and found that he was re-

[a] In Trajano. [b] Dio Caſſ. lib. 68.
[c] In Trajano. [c] Dio Caſſ. lib. 68.

ſolved to ſecond his Words with good Blows, the Fear that he was in obliged him to be more humble, and to beg that he might not be troubled with a War; for he ſubmiſſively asked the Crown of *Armenia* at his Hands, in the Behalf of *Parthamaſiris* his Nephew, the Son of *Pacorus* the late King of *Parthia*, *Exedares* having, as being neither agreeable to the *Romans* nor the *Parthians*, abdicated the Crown. *Trajan* refuſed to accept their Preſents, and returned no other Anſwer, than that a Man's Friendſhip is to be proved by Actions and not by Words; and that when he came into *Syria*, he ſhould do all Things that were convenient: Perſiſting in which Opinion he took his Way through the Leſſer *Aſia*, *Cilicia*, and the reſt of the Provinces, and ſo came to the City of *Seleucia*, and from thence to *Antioch* in *Syria*.

[a] When he was at *Antioch*, *Abgarus* the King of the *Oſrhoeni* in *Meſopotamia* ſent him Preſents and Compliments of Friendſhip; but being equally in fear of the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, and deſiring to pleaſe both ſides, he declined for that Reaſon the waiting upon him in Perſon. Others of the Kings and Governors of the Countries where he came met him, and brought him Preſents; among the reſt was a Horſe that was taught to adore kneeling upon his Fore-feet, and to bow his Head to the Ground, as *Trajan* ſtood before him. ÆR. AN. SAC. 368.

[b] But the Behaviour of *Parthamaſiris* upon this Conjuncture, who had taken upon him the Crown of *Armenia*, was altogether a piece of Raſhneſs; firſt he wrote a Letter to *Trajan*, in which he gave himſelf the Name of

[a] Dio. Caſſ. ibid. [b] Ibid.

King of *Armenia*; and receiving no Anſwer he writ another, in which he omitted that Name, and deſired that *Marcus Junius* the Governor of *Cappadocia* might be ſent to him, as if he intended to mediate ſomething by him. *Trajan* ſent to him a Son of that *Junius*. In the mean time *Trajan* marched to the City of *Samoſata* in *Comagena*, and took it, without ſtriking a Blow: Then he came to the City of *Elegia* in *Armenia*, where *Parthamaſiris* met him, and was received in this manner.

[a] *Trajan* ſate as in a Council of War in the Camp: After *Parthamaſiris* had ſaluted him, he took the Crown with which he came from off his Head, and laid it at the Feet of *Trajan*, and ſtood ſilent, expecting when *Trajan* would reſtore to him his Crown again. The Soldiers ſeeing this ſet up an Huzza, and ſaluted *Trajan* by the Name of *Imperator*, as is uſual after a Victory; for they cried, *This was a Victory without a Battel; an unbloody Victory, to ſee a King of the Houſe of the* Arſacidæ, *the Son of* Pacorus, *and the Nephew of* Choſroes *King of* Parthia *ſtand before* Trajan *like a Captive, without a Crown.* *Parthamaſiris* amazed at the Noiſe, and thinking that it was deſigned as an Affront to him, if not to deſtroy him, turned himſelf about in a Paſſion to be gone; but being ſo well ſurrounded that he could not, he deſired not to be obliged to ſpeak what he had to ſay in that Croud: So he was taken into the Emperor's Tent, to whom there he offered the Propoſitions he had to make; but *Trajan* was not pleaſed to conſent to them: Then he threw himſelf in a Paſſion out of the Tent,

[a] Ibid.

and

and was retiring through the Camp, when *Trajan* ſent for him back again; and aſcending the Tribunal, he deſired him to ſpeak what he had to ſay publickly in the hearing of the Company; becauſe Perſons, who were ignorant of what had paſſed between them in private, ſhould not ſuggeſt falſe Accounts of it, and miſrepreſent it to the World. Hearing this, *Parthamaſiris* could not contain himſelf any longer, but with great Courage, among other Things, ſaid, that he had neither been conquered nor taken Priſoner: he came thither voluntarily, in Confidence that no Injury would have been offered to him, and that he ſhould receive his Kingdom from *Trajan*, as *Tiridates* did from *Nero*. *Trajan* anſwered him what he thought proper; and withal told him that *Armenia* ſhould be No-body's Kingdom, it belonged to the *Romans*, and ſhould receive a *Roman* Governor: As for himſelf he gave him Liberty to go where he pleaſed; ſo he ſent *Parthamaſiris*, together with the *Parthians* that came with him, under a Guard, that he ſhould ſpeak with no one, nor attempt any Novelties; but all the *Armenians* that came with him he ordered to abide in their proper Dwellings, as being now his own Subjects.

[a] The Emperor having placed proper Gariſons marched to *Edeſſa* the Capital of *Oſrhoene*, where he was met by *Abgarus* the King, who in an humble manner asking Pardon for not waiting upon him in Perſon before, was received into his Friendſhip; then coming into *Meſopotamia*, he there received a Decree of the Senate, who in honour of his Succeſſes had

[a] Dio Caſſ. ibid.

beſtowed upon him the Title of *Optimus*, or the *Beſt of Princes*; among other Conqueſts he took the Cities of *Niſibis* and *Ecbatana* from the *Parthians*, upon which he was ſaluted *Conqueror of the Parthians* by the Army; but this Title (ſays the Hiſtorian) which only recommended his military Virtue, was leſs valuable to him than that of *Optimus*, which denoted the Sweetneſs of his Nature, and the Purity of his Manners. Winter was now approaching, and the Emperor returned to *Antioch*.

Ær. Arsac. 370. [a] In the beginning of the Spring *Trajan* entered into the *Parthian* Territories; and becauſe the Country which is about the *Tigris* produces no Wood that is proper for building Veſſels, he conveyed ſome on Carriages, which he had made in the Foreſts near *Niſibis*. The Boats were all brought from thence to the River upon Land Carriages, being built in that manner that they were to be taken aſunder, and joined together into a Bridge at Pleaſure. This was done, and the Boats were laid over the *Tigris* at the Foot of the Mountain *Cardynus*, not without the great Annoyance of the Enemy on the other ſide, who were poſted to oppoſe it. To give the *Parthians* a Diverſion, whilſt the Bridge was fitting with all Speed, as *Trajan* had Men and Boats in plenty; he armed ſome Veſſels with Archers and other Soldiers, and detached them againſt the Barbarians. Others he ordered to be moving up and down as it were to try Land in other Places, which ſo diſtracted the Barbarians, and eſpecially they were ſo ſurprized to ſee ſuch a Number of Shipping got together in a Country de-

[a] Ibid.

ſtitute

ſtitute of Wood, that they gave Way, and the *Roman* Army paſſed the River. They had no ſooner reached the other ſide but they made themſelves Maſters of *Adiabena*, and boldly advancing forward, they took the Towns of *Gaugamela* and *Arbela*, where *Alexander* overthrew *Darius*; and as the Forces of the *Parthians* had been diminiſhed by their civil Wars, and ſtill they were quarrelling among themſelves, there was ſuch a Scarcity of the Enemy to make Oppoſition, that the *Roman* Army advanced up to *Babylon*.

[a] Here *Trajan* had a Deſign to make a Cut for the River *Euphrates*, upon which that City ſtands to fall into the *Tigris*, that paſſing his Veſſels by that Cut out of the firſt into the other River, he might convey his Boats thither, of which he would have made a Bridge; but he quitted his Reſolution, when he came to underſtand that the *Euphrates* was higher than the *Tigris*, and that there was Danger of its growing dry, by making ſo great a Deſcent of its Water as would be neceſſary: So he mounted his Veſſels upon Land-carriages, and brought them to the *Tigris* over the little Streight of Land which lies between the two Rivers: He paſſed his Army, and advancing to the City of *Cteſiphon*, he took it from the *Parthians*. By this Succeſs he was again ſaluted *Imperator*, and received the Title of *Parthicus*: He received beſides ſeveral Honours from the Senate, and amongſt the reſt that of a Triumph, attended with Feaſts and publick Rejoicings, which might continue as long as he thought fit. The particular of theſe Wars

[a] Ibid.

and Conqueſts are not recorded in any Hiſtories now extant, nor in what manner *Choſroes* and his *Parthian* Forces oppoſed the Enterpriſes of the *Roman* Army; it is certain he was driven out of the greateſt part of his Dominions, and retired for Safety to the utmoſt Borders of his Country.

[a] *Trajan* from hence ſailed into the *Indian* Ocean, but in his Abſence all his Conqueſts were changed and revolted. He was on Board when he received News of this Defection; and to reduce Things into order, he diſpatched two of his Commanders, *Lucius* and *Maximus*, with powerful Armies. Theſe in the beginning had ill Succeſs, for *Maximus* in a Battel againſt the *Parthians* was overthrown and ſlain. But *Lucius* afterward reinforcing and relieving his Army, obtained ſeveral Victories over the Enemy, and recovered the City of *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*, and others which had revolted, doing the like to the City *Edeſſa* in the ſame Province, which for ſome particular Crimes he laid in Aſhes. And while *Lucius* was thus employed, *Euricius* and *Clarus*, two other *Roman* Commanders, ſucceſsfully proceeded againſt others, who had likewiſe revolted, from whom they took the City of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, and other Cities, which the *Parthians* had recovered in thoſe Parts. The Emperor finding himſelf wearied out with Age and Labour, and judging it impoſſible for one Man rightly to govern ſo vaſt an Empire as that of *Rome*, eſpecially thoſe Provinces taken from the *Parthians*, he reſolved to ſettle a King in *Parthia* of his own chuſing, that ſhould be a Vaſſal to

[a] Ibid.

the

the *Roman* Empire, reſerving to the Emperor the ſupreme Juriſdiction and Sovereignty. For this Purpoſe, when he came to *Cteſiphon* he aſſembled all the *Romans* and the *Parthians* that were there into a large Plain, and raiſing himſelf upon a Throne, and glorying in the great Actions he had done, he appointed *Parthamaſpates* the Son of *Exedares* the *Armenian* King, to be King of the *Parthians*, and put the Crown upon his Head. The Emperor ſoon after died, having committed to *Publius Ælius Hadrian*, who ſucceeded him, the Command of the Army in *Syria*. And now, as [a] *Dio* obſerves, all the Pains that had been taken, and all the Dangers that had been run by the *Romans* in the Conqueſt of *Armenia*, the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia*, and the *Parthians*, became in vain; for the *Parthians* turned out their new King *Parthamaſpates* appointed by *Trajan*, and returned under the Government of their own Laws.

[b] *Hadrian* having obtained the Empire, the *Parthians* and ſome other Nations lately conquered, reaſſumed their former Courage, and began to revolt. Theſe Inſurrections *Adrian* might with no Difficulty have pacified and ſuppreſſed by the Force and Power of his Arms, and wanted neither Courage nor Forces to effect it; but the principal Care of this Emperor was to preſerve the antient Limits of the Empire entire, without any ambitious Proſpects of farther Conqueſts; therefore in the beginning of his Reign he abandoned *Parthia*, and other Provinces of the Eaſt beyond the *Euphrates*, which *Trajan* had conquered, judging that *Par-* ÆR. ARSAC. 373.

[a] Lib. 68.

[b] Spartianus in Hadriano.

thia,

thia, *Media*, *Meſopotamia*, and the reſt of thoſe diſtant Provinces would be of greater Inconvenience to the *Roman* Empire than Advantage; and for the better Safety and Security of other Places, he made *Euphrates* the Barrier and Boundary in thoſe Parts, and placed his Legions upon the Banks of that River. Some are of Opinion he did this out of a ſecret Envy and tacit Detraction of *Trajan*'s Glory and Reputation; though others more juſtly commend it as a politick and prudent Action, and for the real Good of the Empire. This he ſaid he did by the Example of *Cato*, who pronounced the *Macedonians* a free People, becauſe they would not be kept in Subjection; and as he had obſerved that *Parthamaſpates* the King of *Parthia* was of no great Conſideration among that People, he removed him from thence, and gave him the Kingdom of *Armenia*. This Action confirmed the Emperor [b] *Hadrian* in the Affections of the *Parthians*, ſo that all Hoſtilities ceaſed, and a Peace was concluded between the two Empires. [c] The Affairs of the Eaſt thus ſettled *Hadrian* returns to *Rome*; where, beſides the deifying of *Trajan* after the *Roman* Cuſtom, they inſtituted new Games in his Honour called *Parthica*, that continued to be celebrated for many Ages.

Choſroes dreading the Power of the *Roman* Arms, retired for Security into the remoteſt Provinces of his Empire; but upon the Acceſſion of *Adrian* to the Purple, he took Poſſeſſion of his Country that had been conquered, and of the Throne that had been uſurped, to the

[a] Eutrop. lib. 8. [b] Spartian ibid.
[c] Dio Caſſ. lib. 69.

great

great Joy and Satisfaction of his People. [a] The Emperor *Hadrian* ſoon after coming into *Aſia*, particularly courted the Alliance of the *Parthian* King, to whom he returned his Daughter, that *Trajan* had formerly taken Captive, promiſing the ſame as to a Golden Chair of State, which had been then likewiſe taken, and carried away in that War. This Chair was then at *Rome*, and was not returned, becauſe the Death of the *Parthian* King ſoon followed the Agreement, after he had filled the Throne about ſix and twenty Years. His Subjects had been miſerably diſtreſſed by the Calamities of a bloody War, and therefore he eaſed them of their Tributes and Taxes, and ſo eſtabliſhed himſelf in their Love and Eſteem, that he died more lamented than any of his Predeceſſors. ÆR. ARSAC. 374.

[a] Spartian, ibid.

THE

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Vologeſes II.

Ær. Arsac. 390.

THE Crown of *Parthia* devolved rightfully upon *Vologeſes* the Son of *Choſroes*, who accordingly, with the univerſal Applauſe of his Subjects, was declared King. [a] Upon his Acceſſion he was diſturbed by *Pharaſmanes* the King of the *Hiberi*, who ſtirred up the *Alanes*, called otherwiſe *Maſſagetes*, to invade the Provinces ſubject to the *Parthian* Empire. Theſe People, intent upon Plunder, made great Ravages in *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia*, and threatning the Nations around them with Fire and Sword, *Vologeſes* was forced to preſerve his Dominions by making them large Preſents, which yet would have been of ſmall Effect, if *Flavius Arianus*

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 69.

Governor

Governor of *Cappadocia* had not threatened them with the *Roman* Arms, and obliged them to return Home. *Vologeſes* immediately ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of the *Hiberian* King, for drawing down theſe *Barbarians* upon his Territories; and *Pharaſmanes* and his Queen ſoon followed them to anſwer the Charge, and to lay the Matter before the Senate. They referred the Cauſe to *Hadrian* the Emperor, who inſtead of favouring the *Parthian* in this Negotiation, acquitted *Pharaſmanes*; and among other Honours beſtowed upon him, he permitted him and his Queen to ſacrifice in the Capitol.

[a] About this time died *Hadrian*, and was ſucceeded in the Empire by *Antoninus Pius*; the *Parthian* King ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome* with his Congratulations, and with a Golden Crown, as a Preſent to the new Emperor; and gave them in Commiſſion to demand the *Golden Chair* of State, that was carried away in the Reign of *Choſroes*, which *Hadrian* promiſed to reſtore; but this Requeſt was without Succeſs. *Parthamaſpates* the *Armenian* King now died, and was ſucceeded by *Achæmenides* his Son, who to procure the Favour of the *Romans*, did not, though himſelf was of the *Arſacian* Line, apply to *Vologeſes* for his Inveſtiture, but choſe rather to receive his Diadem from *Antoninus* the Emperor. For this Purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to ſupplicate for the Crown of *Armenia*; the Emperor willingly received the Honour of ſuch an Application, and declared him King.

[a] Julius Capitolinus in Anton. Pio.

Ær. Arsac. 416.

[a] *Vologeſes* reſenting the Refuſal of the *Golden Chair*, was now more enraged by this Behaviour of *Achæmenides*, and reſolved to invade *Armenia*; which Deſign was no ſooner known to *Antoninus* the Emperor, but he ſent a menacing Letter to the *Parthian*, which ſo intimidated him, that he laid aſide all Thoughts of the Expedition; and by this Means the Countries of the Eaſt enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, during the Reign of this pious Emperor, who dying, was ſucceeded by *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, and *Lucius Verus* who married his Daughter. [b] Now the *Parthian* War broke out, which was deſigned, under *Antoninus Pius*, and being covered for ſome time, it raged with the greater Violence; for *Vologeſes* invaded the *Roman* Territories, and being oppoſed by the Legions under *Attidius Cornelianus* Governor of *Syria*, he gave him a general Defeat. The Death of *Achæmenides* the King of *Armenia* delivered that Kingdom to *Soæmus* his Son, who after the Example of his Father, receiving the Crown from the *Romans*, drew upon him an Invaſion from the *Parthian*, who routed him in the firſt Action, and drove him out of his Kingdom. [c] He threw himſelf under the Protection of *Severian* Governor of *Cappadocia*, who aſſiſted him, but to no Purpoſe; for *Soæmus* was forced to abandon his Country, and fled for Refuge to *Rome*. *Severian* with the *Roman* Army were incloſed by the *Parthians* near *Elegia*, a City of *Armenia*, and were all cut to pieces; by which Succeſs *Vologeſes* over-

[a] Julius Capit. ibid.
[b] Julius Capit. in M. A. Anton. Philoſ.
[c] Xiphilin. in Marc. Antonin. Philoſoph.

ran

ran the Country with Fire and Sword, and became formidable to all *Syria*.

This *Severian*, as [a] *Lucian* relates, conſulting one *Alexander* an Impoſtor, who pretended to tell Fortunes, concerning the Succeſs of the *Armenian* War, received this Anſwer.

Parthis Armeniiſque citato morte ſubactis,
Romam urbem repetes & claras Tibridis undas
Vertice ſerta gerens radiis diſtincta ſerenis.

But when the General, depending upon the Oracle, engaged with the *Parthians* in *Armenia*, under the Conduct of *Othrias* the *Parthian* Commander, and was ſlain; *Alexander*, to juſtify his Character, altered the Prediction, and inſiſted that his Words were.

Agmen in Armenias ne duc; neque enim expedit illud,
Ne tibi fæmineis vir amictus Veſtibus arcu
Exitium immittat vitaque ac lumine privet.

[b] The Succeſs of the *Parthian* Arms in *Armenia* alarmed the two Emperors at *Rome*; and *Verus* was immediately appointed by the Senate for the Eaſtern Expedition, whilſt *Marcus* tarried at *Rome*, where the civil Affairs required at leaſt the Preſence of one of them. He accompanied *Verus* as far as to *Capua*, and honoured him with a Retinue of great Men out of the Senate, and Officers for his Court of all ſorts, both to be Miniſters and Companions to him in the War. But no ſooner was *Marcus*

[a] In Vit. Alexand. Pſeudomantis.
[b] Julius Capitol. in Vit. M. A. Anton. Philoſoph.

returned

returned to *Rome*, but he received Advice that *Verus* was ſick at *Capua*: He offered his Vows in the Senate for his Recovery, and then went in all Haſte to ſee him there; and being returned to *Rome* the ſecond time, he next received an Account that *Verus* was ſafely arrived in *Syria*, where he paſſed his Time in Sports and Hunting, and lived at *Antioch* and the Village of *Daphne* in the greateſt Pleaſure, whilſt his Generals carried on the *Parthian* War, in which they had the Victory over the Enemy. This Succeſs was obtained by *Lucius Statius Priſcus*, who entering *Armenia* with the Legions, defeated *Hoſroes* the *Parthian* General, and took and plundered *Artaxata* the capital City. Upon theſe Victories both the Emperors were preſented with the Title of Conquerors of the *Armenians*, which *Marcus*, in Modeſty, firſt refuſed, but afterwards accepted. [a] *Lucian* gives an Account ſomewhat different, that the *Romans* entring *Armenia*, were at firſt defeated with great Slaughter, which Loſs was ſoon repaired by continual Victories, ſo that the *Parthians* were driven out of the Country; and *Soæmus*, the King that had fled to *Rome*, was ſent for by the Nobles, and by *Verus* again fixed upon the Throne of *Armenia*. This *Soæmus* had been admitted into the *Roman* Senate, and was afterwards Conſul.

[b] The Advantages obtained by the *Romans* in *Armenia*, inſtead of humbling the Spirit of the *Parthian*, enraged him the more; ſo that recruiting his broken Forces againſt the next Spring, he made an Inroad into *Syria*, the Peo-

[a] In Vit. Alexand. Pſeudomant.
[b] Jamblich. apud Photium. Dio Caſſ. lib. 71.

ple

ple of that Country being ready for a Revolt. But *Avidius Caſſius*, who governed that Province by the Appointment of *Verus*, bravely, ſays the Hiſtorian, withſtood the Shocks of *Vologeſes*, preſſed upon him when he ſaw him forſaken by his Allies, purſued him as far as *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, ſet fire to the firſt of thoſe two Cities, and deſtroyed the King's Palace in the ſecond. Upon this Succeſs the two Emperors were preſented with the Title of *Conquerors* of the *Parthians*, which was at firſt refuſed by *Marcus*, but was afterwards accepted. *Caſſius* puſhed on his Victories, and drove the *Parthian* King beyond the *Euphrates*. [a] Here he was met by the Emperor *Verus*, who lay with his Legions on the Banks of the River, while *Caſſius* entered *Meſopotamia*, and plundered the Country: *Oſrhoes* the *Parthian* General attempted to ſtop his Conqueſts, and was routed, and with great Difficulty made his Eſcape over the *Tigris*. At the ſame time *Martius Verus*, another of the Emperor *Verus*'s Lieutenants, made an Incurſion into *Media*, and overrun the Country; from whence he obtained the Name of *Medicus*. [b] The ſame Fortune attended *Caſſius* in all this Expedition: He took the City of *Babylon* and plundered it; and one of his Soldiers finding a Golden Coffer in the Temple of *Apollo* opened it, and out of it proceeded ſuch a peſtilential Stench, as ſpread itſelf from thence into *Parthia*, and ſo over the World. *Caſſius*, notwithſtanding his Victories, loſt a great Number of his Men by Famine and Sickneſs, and returned with his Army into *Syria*.

[a] Dio ibid. [b] Capitolin. in Vero.

Ær. Arsac. 421. The Eſtates of *Parthia* broke out into open Rebellion upon theſe Misfortunes; and conſidering how that Empire had been invaded and plunder'd, and the moſt wealthy Provinces laid waſte by the *Romans*, their chief Cities ſack'd, and their Armies deſtroyed, under the Reign of this Prince, and *Choſroes* his Father, they would not bear him any longer upon the Throne, but drove him out of the Kingdom, and choſe a new King.

THE

REIGN

OF

Arſaces Monneſes.

VOLOGESES being expelled, the Throne was filled by *Monneſes* a *Parthian* Nobleman, who immediately applied to recruit the broken Troops, and recover the Provinces that had been forced from the Empire in former Reigns. [a] Early in the Spring he made a general Muſter of his Army, and entered *Meſopotamia*, plundering and deſtroying all before him. *Verus* marched with his Legions to the Banks of the *Euphrates*, and his Generals paſſed the River, and meeting the *Parthian* Army, a fierce Battel was fought, and Victory declared for the *Romans*: Upon which Succeſs *Verus* was ſaluted *Imperator* for the fourth time. The *Parthians*, upon this Defeat, ſued for Peace, which was obtained ÆR. ARSAC. 342.

[a] Capitolin. in Vero.

upon Condition that the River *Tigris* ſhould be the Boundary of both Empires. By this means the Province of *Meſopotamia* was ſeparated from the Crown of *Parthia*, and could never again be recovered.

[a] About this time died *Soæmus* the *Armenian* King, and was ſucceeded by *Sanatruces* his Son; a Prince, ſays *Suidas*, of great Juſtice and Moderation. *Verus* the Emperor, after he had appointed Kings over the reſpective Kingdoms, and given the Governments of the Provinces among his Officers, and put an end to the *Parthian* War, which had continued for four Years, returned to *Rome* to receive the Honour of his Triumph.

Monneſes having eſtabliſhed a Peace with the *Romans* returned into *Parthia*, and disbanded his Army; but the Nobility reſenting that he had given up *Meſopotamia* by Treaty, which the Emperor *Trajan* was forced to fight for, and which was reſtored by *Hadrian* his Succeſſor; and beſides, imputing the Misfortunes of the King to his Miſmanagement and want of Ability, they dethroned him by the general Voice of the People, after a ſhort Reign of about one Year.

[a] Suidas in Sanat. Capitolin. ibid.

THE

THE

REIGN

OF

Arſaces Vologeſes II.

VOLOGESES [a] was driven into Exile by a turbulent Nobility, who had nothing to object againſt him of Cruelty or Injuſtice, but ſtripped him of his Crown merely for his Misfortunes. The *Parthians* finding that their Calamities rather encreaſed under a foreign Prince, recalled their King from Baniſhment, and reſtored him to the Throne of his Anceſtors; for the Blood of *Arſaces* was exceedingly beloved by that Nation, and they never found Relief by the Government of a Stranger. *Vologeſes* enjoyed a long State of Peace after his Return; and being made wiſer by the Miſeries he had ſuffered, he corrected the Errors of his former Reign: Ær. Arsac. 423.

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 71.

He was a Prince of a very mild and beneficent Diſpoſition, and had no Tincture of that Tyranny and Barbarity which ſo frequently appeared in the Lives of moſt of his Progenitors: He returned to a Country pillaged by a hungry and mercileſs Enemy, and ſtrip'd of its Inhabitants by the Rage of War: His Exchequer was empty, his Subjects poor, his Cities plundered and burnt, and his Royal Palace levelled with the Ground. To redreſs theſe Calamities ſeems to have been the Buſineſs of his future Life; though Authors ſcarce make the leaſt mention of him after his Reſtoration, which is the leſs to be admired, ſince there is no Writer extant that has profeſſedly treated of the *Parthian* Hiſtory, and the Memoirs that are collected are ſcattered with great Obſcurity in the Hiſtories of other Nations.

[a] The *Romans* were ſo employed at Home with inteſtine Troubles, that they had no time to proſecute foreign Wars; for *Avidius Caſſius*, who had ſo remarkably humbled the *Parthian* Pride under the Emperor *Verus*, ſet up himſelf in the Eaſt to be Emperor. *Marcus Antoninus* marched into *Syria* to ſuppreſs the Uſurper, but in his Way he was preſented with the Head of *Caſſius*, who was killed by his Army. The Emperor when he was in the Eaſt tranſacted, ſays *Capitolinus*, many Things with the Kings of thoſe Parts who met him, together with the Embaſſadors of the *Perſians* (that is of the *Parthians*) and he confirmed the Peace with them. *Oroſius* intimates the ſame Things; and remarks, that upon the Death of *Avidius*

[a] Vulcatius Gallicanus in Avidio Caſſio. ibid. in Marc. Antonin. Philoſoph. lib. 8. c. 15.

Caſſius in *Syria*, *Vologeſes* the *Parthian* King eſtabliſhed the Peace with *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperor.

How long this Prince ſate upon the Throne is uncertain; but it is ſuppoſed that he died at the latter end of the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*: He had a long Reign of about fifty five Years, and left two Sons, *Vologeſes* and *Tiridates*, the elder of whom ſucceeded him in the Empire. ÆR. ARSAC. 445.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Vologeſes III.

Ær. Arsac. 445. THE Crown of *Parthia* by right of Succeſſion deſcended to *Vologeſes* III. who finding his Empire in a State of Peace, and out of the Fear of foreign Arms, reſolved to invade *Armenia*, and by expelling *Sanatruces*, to place his Brother *Tiridates* upon the Throne, after the Cuſtom of the *Parthian* Kings, who inſiſted upon a right of diſpoſing of that Crown to a younger Branch of the *Arſacian* Family. For this Purpoſe he marched his Army into *Armenia*, but he had no Succeſs in the Expedition; for *Sanatruces*, ſays [a] *Suidas*, being a Prince of a great Genius, eſpecially in Affairs of War, he engaged the *Parthian*, and forced him to retire with Loſs and Diſgrace into his own Country.

[a] Suidas in Sanatruc.

[a] The Emperor *Commodus* was ſlain at *Rome*, and ſucceeded by *Publius Helvius Pertinax*: He reigned but three Months, and was cut off by the *Prætorian* Soldiers, who proclaimed *Didius Julianus* for Emperor. At the ſame time *Peſcennius Niger* Governor of *Syria* ſet up for himſelf, and aſſumed the Purple, being ſupported by the Legions of the Province: He was eſpouſed with great Zeal by the Eaſtern Nations, the *Adiabeni* particularly, and the *Parthian* King, ſincerely embraced his Intereſt; and the Report of his being proclaimed was no ſooner publickly known, but, ſays the [b] Hiſtorian, all the Nations bordering upon *Europe* came in to tender him their Homage and Service; and Embaſſies were ſent from all ſides to *Antioch*, as to a juſt and lawful Emperor. The Nations alſo that inhabit beyond the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates* (theſe without doubt were the *Parthians*) diſpatch'd their Envoys to make the Congratulations uſual upon the Occaſion, and to promiſe him their Succour and Aſſiſtance, in caſe his Affairs ſhould require it. He rewarded them all very ſplendidly, and thank'd them for the Zeal and Affection which they had diſcovered for him; affirming, that as his Affairs then ſtood he had no need of their Support, for the Empire was ſecured to him, which indolent Security of his proved his Ruin.

[c] For *Niger*, inſtead of marching directly to *Rome* ſtaid at *Antioch*, and entertained the People with Shews and publick Games; but when he heard the unexpected News that *Severus* the General of the *Pannonian* Forces had

[a] Capitolinus in Vita Severi.
[b] Herodian. lib. 2. [c] Ibid. lib. 3. initio.

ſurprized

ſurprized *Rome*, and was declared Emperor by the Senate, and that he was advancing againſt him with the whole *Illyrian* Army, and with other mighty Forces both by Sea and Land, he was in a terrible Conſternation, and immediately iſſued out Orders to the Prefects of the Provinces to take all poſſible Precautions for the blocking up all the Ports and Approaches, and ſent to the Kings of *Parthia* and *Armenia*, and to the King of the *Atrenians* to demand Succours. The *Atrenians* returned Anſwer, that they would not eſpouſe any Party, but would content themſelves to defend their own Territories. The *Parthian* promiſed to give out Commiſſions to his Nobles to levy Forces, which is their Method, when the Neceſſity of their Affairs oblige them to raiſe an Army, for they maintain no ſtanding Force in conſtant Pay.

ÆR. ÆRSAC. 449. [a] *Vologeſes*, as he had promiſed, ſent a Body of Troops to aſſiſt *Niger*, who likewiſe received a competent Aid from the Kings of the *Adiabeni* and the *Oſrhoeni*; but his Army, increaſed with theſe Auxiliaries, were unable to ſecure him, for his General *Æmilian* was defeated at *Cyzicum*, a City of the *Helleſpont*. *Niger*, upon this Overthrow, raiſed a new Army, but undiſciplin'd, and without Experience; and engaging with the Captains of *Severus* in a ſpacious Plain, called the Bay of *Iſſicum*, he was routed, with the Loſs of twenty thouſand of his Men, and fled with a ſmall Number of Followers to *Antioch*; but this [b] City being afterwards taken by *Severus*, he eſcaped, and rode away towards the *Euphrates*, with a De-

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 74. [b] Herod. lib. 3.

ſign

ſign to fly into *Parthia*; but he was overtaken by a Body of ſwift Horſe that was ſent after him by *Severus*, who ſeized him, and cut off his Head.

[a] *Severus* having thus diſpatched *Niger*, deſtroyed all his Friends and Adherents without Mercy or Diſtinction, not regarding whether they were ſuch by Choice or Neceſſity. But thoſe Soldiers that he heard had paſſed the *Tigris*, and were going over to the *Parthians*, he endeavoured to bring back by Promiſes of Pardon and Indemnity. However, great Numbers went over to them, which was the true Reaſon why they became afterwards more able to engage with the *Romans* in a ſet Battel; for formerly they never wore complete Armor; ſeldom uſed Sword or Spear in the Fight; were lightly and looſly habited, and fought with Bows and Arrows on Horſeback, and moſt commonly in their Flight ſhooting back upon the Enemy that purſued them. But now they were inſtructed by theſe *Roman* Refugees, among whom there were a great many Artizans, who choſe to ſpend the Remainder of their Days amongſt them, not only to uſe Arms, but to make them.

Severus, elated with this Succeſs, reſolved to take full Revenge upon the Nations that had aſſiſted *Niger*, particularly by the *Oſrhoeni*, the *Adiabeni*, and the *Arabians*; for this Purpoſe he paſſed the *Euphrates* with his victorious Army. Here, ſays the [b] Hiſtorian, he found a Country ſo extremely parched with the Heat of the Sun, that he run the Hazard of loſing the greateſt part of his Forces, Laſſitude, Heat

[a] Herod. ibid. [b] Xiphilin. in Severo.

and

and Duſt incommoded them to that Degree, that being no longer able to march or ſpeak, they had but juſt Strength enough to ſay, in a feeble Tone, *Water, Water.* A Spring appeared at length, and *Severus,* no leſs aſtoniſhed than before, called for a Cup and drank, in ſight of the whole Army, which afterwards, by drinking, recovered its Spirits. *Severus* marching to *Niſibis*, a City in *Meſopotamia*, continued there, and ſent *Laternus*, *Candidus*, and *Lætus*, three of his Generals, into the Countries of the Enemies, who over-ran them with Fire and Sword, and deſtroyed their Cities. [a] The happy Succeſs of this Expedition made the Emperor ſo extravagantly vain, that he concluded his Conduct and Valour were not to be equalled by all the Princes in the World. The Affairs of the Eaſt being ſettled by theſe Victories, the Emperor intended to have made a Deſcent upon *Parthia*, and the Territories of the *Atrenians*, who had declared for *Niger*; however, he relinquiſhed his Deſign for the preſent, and began firſt to conſider how he ſhould beſt diſpoſe the unſettled State of the *Roman* Empire. [b] He returned to *Rome*, and upon the Account of his Victories he was offered the Honour of a Triumph; and had the Title given him of being *Conqueror* of the *Arabians*, *Adiabenians* and *Parthians*; but the Triumph he refuſed, leſt it ſhould be pretended he triumphed for a Victory, gained as it were over his own Subjects; and he refuſed the Stile of *Conqueror* of the *Parthians*, that he might not too ſenſibly offend that proud and reſenting Nation.

[a] Herod. lib. 3.

[b] Spartianus in Severo.

[a] The

[a] The civil War of *Niger* being ended, *Severus*, then at *Rome*, received the News of another that was raiſed againſt him by *Clodius Albinus*, who had revolted in *Gallia*, and proclaimed himſelf Emperor. The *Parthians* took Advantage of theſe Commotions in the Empire, and invaded *Meſopotamia* with a powerful Army; but *Albinus* being overcome and ſlain, *Severus* reſolved to carry the War into *Parthia*, moved to it, ſays *Spartian*, more from a deſire of Glory, than obliged by any Neceſſity. For this Purpoſe he embarked his Army at the Port of *Brunduſium*, and came into *Syria*. At this time the *Parthians* had laid Siege to *Niſibis*, which they had certainly taken, but for the vigorous Reſiſtance which *Lætus*, one of his Generals, made to defend it. *Lætus*, ſays the [b] Hiſtorian, increaſed by this Action the Reputation which his excellent Qualities had gained him, being look'd upon as one of the firſt Men in *Rome*, and the moſt capable of ſerving the Empire, either in War or Peace.

Tiridates the Brother of the *Parthian* King hearing that *Severus* was arrived in *Syria* attended upon him, humbly imploring that he would beſtow upon him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Armenia*, for *Sanatruces* was lately dead; but he had no Succeſs in this Negotiation. *Severus* marched on to *Niſibis*, and the *Parthians*, ſays [c] *Dio*, who lived under the Government of *Vologeſes*, whoſe Brother was with *Severus*, inſtead of waiting for the Emperor, retired into their own Country. ÆR. ARSAC. 454.

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 7. in Severo. [b] Dio ibid.
[c] Dio ibid.

[a] The next Attempt of *Severus* was to take full Satisfaction upon the *Atrenians* and the *Armenians* for ſupporting the Intereſt of *Niger*; and being on the Frontiers of *Armenia*, he was about to ravage that Country, but was prevented by *Vologeſes* the Son of *Sanatruces*, who voluntarily ſent Hoſtages, with Money and other rich Preſents to him, and entreated him to eſtabliſh a Friendſhip and good Underſtanding between them. The Account given by [b] *Dio* is ſomewhat different: He ſays, that *Vologeſes* the *Armenian* King drew out his Army to oppoſe *Severus*, but before they came to an Engagement, he ſued for Peace, and obtained it; and the Emperor upon that Account confirmed him in the Poſſeſſion of a part of the Kingdom of *Armenia*; but the Country of *Sophene* he reſerved for *Tiridates*, who was with him, and whoſe Father had deſerved ſo well of the *Romans*.

Ær. Arsac. 454. [c] *Severus* finding all things ſucceed according to his Wiſhes in *Armenia*, marched his Forces towards the Country of the *Atrenians*; and here his Army was enforced by *Abgarus* King of the *Oſrhoeni*, who delivered up his Children by way of Hoſtage for their Father's Fidelity, and joined him with a conſiderable Number of Archers: He ſate down before the City of *Atræ*, but he was glad to draw off his Army before it was totally defeated, without effecting what he purpoſed. The Iſſue of this Attempt coming ſo far ſhort of his Expectation gave him great Regret: Not to vanquiſh was in effect to be overcome to him, who had always

[a] Herod. lib. 3. [b] Lib. 75.
[c] Herod. lib. 3.

been

been accuſtomed to Victory. But a proſperous Gale of Fortune, which ſoon after happened, eaſily blew this Damp off his Spirits, and made this Expedition ſo far from being fruitleſs, that it crowned him with greater Succeſſes than he at firſt expected; for putting to Sea with his whole Army, compoſing a ſtrong naval Force, he was driven from the *Roman*, and forced upon the Coaſt of *Parthia*, but a few Days Journey from *Cteſiphon*, where the King keeps his Court. At this time he lived in perfect Tranquillity, undiſturbed by War, or the Fears of it, not imagining that *Severus*'s Expedition againſt the *Atreni* did any ways concern him, nor apprehending any Attempt to be made upon him in this Juncture. But *Severus*, being thus driven by Streſs of Weather upon his Coaſts, landed his Men, and ravaged the Country, carrying off all the Cattle he met with, that he might be ſecure of Proviſions; and burning the Villages that fell in his Way, he advanced into the Country till he reached the City *Cteſiphon*, where the great *Vologeſes* (falſly called *Artabanus* by *Herodian*) held his Reſidence; and falling by Surpriſe upon the barbarous People, who were unprepared, killed all the Men they found, and made the Women and Children Priſoners, the King only eſcaping with a few Horſemen. But the *Romans* poſſeſſed themſelves of his Treaſure, and Royal Furniture, and Ornaments, and returned with them to their Ships: Thus *Severus* atchiev'd his *Parthian* Victory, rather by good Fortune than Conduct. This Enterpriſe being thus fortunately accompliſhed, he immediately detached an Expreſs to *Rome*, giving an Account of his Succeſs, and magnifying his Exploits: He

He ſet up alſo publick Pageants, wherein his Engagements and Victories were repreſented. The Senate upon this Occaſion decreed him all the Honours imaginable, and gave him Titles from the Nations which he had conquered.

This Tranſaction is thus repreſented by [a] *Dio*: *Severus*, ſays he, ſailed upon the *Euphrates*, attended by a great Number of Veſſels, and took the Cities of *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, that were deſerted. *Cteſiphon* he gave to be plundered by his Soldiers, who made a prodigious Deſtruction in it, and yet ſaved the Lives of a hundred thouſand Perſons, whom he led into Captivity; nevertheleſs, he did not preſerve this laſt City, but left it as if he had reduced it only with a Deſign to ruin it. Soon after he left the Country, whoſe Situation he was not ſufficiently acquainted with, and where he found nothing that was neceſſary for him. He returned by a different Way, becauſe he had conſumed all the Wood, Hay and Forage that he found; part of the Foot marched back upon the Banks of the *Tigris*, and the reſt went by Water. The Emperor, ſays [b] *Spartian*, after his Succeſſes in *Parthia* returned a Conqueror into *Syria*: The Senate offered him the Honour of a Triumph, which he refuſed, becauſe he could not ſit in his Chariot, being ſorely afflicted with the Gout. [c] *Severus* had raiſed three new Legions for the *Parthian* War, and gave them the Name of the *Parthian Legions*; two of theſe he left in *Meſopotamia* to defend the Borders from the Inroads of the Barbarians.

[a] Lib. 75. [b] In Severo. [c] Dio lib. 75.

After

After this Expedition of *Severus* there is nothing more recorded in the Hiſtories extant concerning the *Parthians*, or *Vologeſes* their King; there is only an Obſervation in [a] *Dio*, from whence it may be collected, that this Prince died under the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla*; for that Emperor took Occaſion boaſtingly to write to the Senate that *Vologeſes* the *Parthian* King was dead; and the Kingdom was torn in pieces by his Sons contending for the Succeſſion, which Commotions would tend to the Ruin of their Empire, and the great Advantage of the *Roman* State. *Vologeſes* after a Reign of about five and twenty Years died. He left ſeveral Sons, but *Artabanus* the eldeſt, after he had ſuppreſſed the Pretenees of his Brothers, ſucceeded in the Throne. ÆR. ARSAC. 373.

[a] Lib. 77. Excerpt. Valeſian.

THE REIGN OF Arſaces Artabanus IV.

Ær. Arsac. 469. THE *Parthian* Empire upon the Death of *Vologeſes* III. deſcended by hereditary Right to *Artabanus* IV. but his younger Brothers, ſupported by a Party of factious Nobility, attempted to ſet him by the Succeſſion, and for that Purpoſe raiſed an Army, and met him in the Field; the firſt Engagement was deciſive, and Victory fell on the ſide of the rightful Heir, who aſcended the Throne with the general Voice and Satisfaction of the People.

[a] The Emperor *Antoninus Caracalla* was in *Germany* when he heard of theſe Commotions in *Parthia*, and thinking this a proper Opportunity to carry a War into that Nation, he reſolved upon the Expedition; and ſo marching

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 77.

his

his Army through *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, and *Macedonia*, he wintered in *Nicomedia*. Here, ſays the Hiſtorian, he frequently reviewed his *Macedonian* Phalanx, and obliged them to conſtant Exerciſe. He alſo prepared two great Machines to be made uſe of in the War againſt the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, and tranſported them by Sea into *Syria*. Early the next Spring he came to *Antioch*, where, contrary to the Law of Nations, he deceived *Abgarus* King of the *Oſrhoeni*, and put him in Irons, though he came to viſit him upon the Security of a Treaty, as an Ally: When he had thus deprived him of his Liberty, it was eaſy for him to uſurp his Kingdom. At the ſame time he had Intelligence that *Vologeſes*, the Son of *Sanatruces* King of *Armenia*, had a Conteſt with his Sons; he wrote a very civil Letter to him, and offered to be Arbitrator of their Differences. Under this Pretence he ſeized upon him, his Wife and Children that were with him, as he had ſerved *Abgarus* before, and keeping them under ſtrict Confinement, the King and his Sons died in Priſon. But notwithſtanding theſe Barbarities, he was not able to make himſelf Maſter of his Kingdom, the People chuſing rather to take up Arms than to ſubmit to his Power. No Body would truſt him after ſo black a piece of Treachery; and he learnt, by Experience, how dangerous it is for an Emperor to deceive his Friends and Allies.

[a] He was now reſolved to puſh on the War againſt the *Parthians*; his Pretence was, that *Vologeſes*, the Father of the preſent King, had refuſed to deliver up his Brother *Tiridates* (who ÆR. ARSAC. 470.

[a] Dio ibid.

had put himſelf under the Protection of the Emperor *Severus*) and one *Antiochus*, whom he had demanded. This *Antiochus* was a *Cilician*, and had made Profeſſion of the Philoſophy of the Cynicks: He had been very ſerviceable formerly to the *Roman* Soldiers, by the Example of Courage and Patience which he had ſet them, by rolling himſelf in the Snow before their Eyes, and encouraging them by this means to endure the Extremity of Cold. After he had received Rewards and Honours from *Severus* and *Antoninus* he grew vain, went over to *Tiridates*, and retired with him into *Parthia*. The *Parthian* King ſtruck with a Conſternation at the Noiſe of the *Roman* March, immediately delivered up *Tiridates* and *Antiochus* to the Emperor, and ſo for the preſent avoided the Misfortune that threatened him. [a] *Caracalla* to divert himſelf marched into *Egypt*, under a Pretence of viſiting *Alexandria* (a City built by *Alexander* the Great, for whom he confeſſed a more than ordinary Veneration) and conſulting the Deity of the Place; but his Deſign was to maſſacre the Citizens, who had taken too much Liberty in cenſuring his Vices. For this Purpoſe he made great Feſtivities, and ſacrificed Hecatombs: Theſe Solemnities drew a vaſt Company of People together, whom he inſenſibly ſurrounded with his Army, who, upon a Signal given, cut them all to pieces. After he had thus executed his Revenge upon the *Alexandrians*, he left that City and returned to *Antioch*.

[a] Herod. lib. 4.

[a] Though

[a] Though the Emperor deferred his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, yet he ſtill continued his Deſign when Opportunity offered; for he extremely affected the Title of *Parthicus*, and the Glory of conquering the Eaſtern Barbarians, then in the profoundeſt Tranquillity; for this Purpoſe he projected the moſt villainous piece of Treachery that perhaps is to be met with in Hiſtory: He ſent Embaſſadors with Letters and rich Preſents to *Artabanus* the *Parthian* King; in his Letters he demanded his Daughter in Marriage, and ſet forth at large, 'That he was an Emperor, and the Son 'of an Emperor: That he could not marry the 'Daughter of a private Perſon: That his Sta-'tion in the World obliged him to match with 'ſome Queen or Princeſs of high Birth: That 'the *Roman* and *Parthian* Empires were the 'greateſt in the World: That if the two 'Crowns were united and cemented by this 'Alliance into one Empire, without any Ri-'vers or Boundaries to divide them as hereto-'fore, the whole World beſide would not be 'able to balance their Powers in Conjunction: 'That the barbarous Nations that are ſubject 'to both Empires would be eaſily kept within 'the Bounds of their Duty, provided they 'were ſuffered to enjoy their own Governors 'and Conſtitutions: That the *Roman* Infantry 'and Pikemen were the beſt in the World for 'a cloſe Engagement: That the *Parthians* ex-'celled all other Nations in the force of their 'Cavalry, and the Dexterity of their Archers: 'That theſe Things concurring, with a Pro-'viſion of all warlike Stores, would put them

[a] Herod. ibid.

'in a Capacity of eſtabliſhing and maintaining 'with Eaſe an univerſal Monarchy; and whereas 'heretofore the *Parthian* Spices and Silks, and 'the Metals and curious Manufactures of the '*Romans* were only imported by Merchants, 'and that very rarely, and by ſtealth: That 'after this Union there ſhould be a free and 'open Intercourſe of all Things whatſoever be-'tween the two Nations.

[a] Upon the Receipt of the Letters the *Parthian* at firſt refuſed to comply with his Demands, and remonſtrated to him the Inconveniences of a Match between a *Roman* and one that was barbarous: *That it would be impoſſible for them to agree, each being an utter Stranger to the Language, and their Diet and Habit ſo vaſtly different: That he had Noblemen at* Rome, *whoſe Daughters he might take to Wife, as he had Perſons of the Blood of* Arſaces: *That it was not convenient their Blood ſhould be corrupted by any foreign Mixture.* Theſe were the Reaſons he alledged for the rejecting his Propoſal; but *Antoninus* making freſh Inſtances to him, and enforcing them with freſh Preſents, and repeated Proteſtations of his great Kindneſs and Paſſion for the Princeſs Royal; the *Parthian* was at laſt prevailed upon, and promiſed to give him his Daughter, and began already to call him his Son-in-law. The News of this being carried up and down, the barbarous People were putting all Things ready in Poſture for the Reception of the *Roman* Emperor, and beheld with Joy the near Proſpect of an everlaſting Peace. *Antoninus* paſſed the Rivers without Oppoſition, and entered the *Parthian*

[a] Herod. ibid.

Terri-

Territories, which he looked upon as his own, the People all along ſacrificing and offering Incenſe upon crowned Altars; with which Civility he appeared extremely ſatisfied, and advanced up into the Country, till he drew near to the *Parthian* Court; at which time *Artabanus* marched out into a ſpacious Plain that lies before the City to receive his Son-in-law. Here were great Numbers of *Parthians*, adorned with Chaplets and Flowers of their own Growth, and Gowns of Silk flowered with Silver, and curiouſly dyed: They were celebrating a Feſtival, and dancing with artful Motion and due Obſervance of Time, to the Muſick of Flutes and Pipes, and other Inſtruments, which is an Entertainment they are extremely delighted with, eſpecially when they are inflamed with Wine.

[a] The Multitude were no ſooner drawn together upon the Plain, but they forſook their Horſes, threw aſide their Bows and Quivers, and abandoned themſelves to Revellings and feſtival Gaieties. The Concourſe of People was very great, and as it happened they ſtood very diſorderly, without the leaſt Jealouſy or Apprehenſion, every Man preſſing forward to get a ſight of the new Bridegroom. The Opportunity being thus favourable, *Antoninus* gave the Signal to his Men to begin the Maſſacre, having given poſitive Orders before to put all to the Sword. The Barbarians amazed with the unexpected Encounter ſoon turned their Backs, and the *Romans* gave them Chaſe, killing many, and wounding more. *Artabanus* was borne off by his Guards, and being ſet up-

[a] Herod. ibid.

on a Horſe made his Eſcape with a ſmall Party, and great Difficulty; all the reſt were cut to pieces. The *Parthians* wanted their Horſes, which are of the greateſt Service to them in a Battel; for they were diſmounted before, and had turned them to graze: Nor could they betake themſelves to their Heels, which were entangled in the looſe Garments, that came down to their Feet. Bows and Arrows they had none; nor was there any Occaſion for them at the Celebration of a Marriage. *Antoninus*, after he had made a great Slaughter, returned with great Numbers of Priſoners and a vaſt Booty, without any Oppoſition, burning the Cities and Villages to the Ground, and giving all up to the Plunder and Ravage of his Soldiers. Such was the Calamity which befel the *Parthians* in an Hour, when they leaſt expected it. *Antoninus*, after he had ſpoiled and haraſſed all the Country, and his Soldiers were tired with ravaging and killing, returned into *Meſopotamia*; from whence he ſent an Expreſs to the Senate and People of *Rome* with the News, that he had made an entire Conqueſt of the Eaſt, and reduced all thoſe Kingdoms under his Dominion. The Senate, though they had received a true Account of the whole Progreſs of this Expedition (for it is impoſſible for the Actions of Princes to be concealed) yet out of Fear or Flattery, they decreed him all the Honours of victorious Generals. After this he ſtaid ſome time in *Meſopotamia*, following the Diverſions of Hunting and Chariot-driving.

An Account of this Expedition is thus delivered by [a] *Spartian*. After the Maſſacre at *Alexandria*, the Emperor marched againſt the

[a] Spartianus in Caracalla.

Parthians

Parthians by the Borders of the People called *Caduſii*, and the Country of *Babylon*, and coming to a tumultuary Engagement with them, he let looſe among them wild Beaſts; after which he ſent Diſpatches to the Senate to obtain the Title of *Conqueror of the Parthians*, as if he had gotten never ſo great a Victory. He was preparing for another Campaign, when going from the City of *Rhea* in *Meſopotamia*, where he wintered, to *Charræ*, and by the Way alighting from his Horſe to make Water, he was ſtabbed by one *Martial* a Centurion, and inſtantly died.

[a] *Dio*, the Hiſtorian, gives a different relation. The Emperor, after his Barbarity at *Alexandria*, led his Army againſt the *Parthians*, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe *Artabanus* had refuſed him his Daughter in marriage: The Cauſe of this Refuſal was from a Perſuaſion that *Antoninus* had no other Regard for the Marriage, than as it would ſerve for a Pretence to uſurp his Kingdom: He entered into *Media*, laid the Country waſte, reduced the City of *Arbela*, demoliſhed the Tombs of the *Parthian* Kings, and diſperſed their Bones: The *Parthians* retired to the Mountains beyond the *Tigris* to prepare for their Defence: *Antoninus* endeavoured to conceal their Retreat, and gave out that he had ſubdued them; at leaſt he wrote to the *Roman* Senate in very big Terms, that he had won a complete Victory, and that a Lion deſcending from the Mountains had fought on his Side. He aboliſhed, ſays the Hiſtorian, the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, and changed the Order of military Diſcipline: He invented a Habit cut in the Form of a Caſſock, and wore

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 77.

it

it conſtantly himſelf, from whence he was ſurnamed *Caracalla*, and commanded the Soldiers to wear the ſame. When the *Parthians* obſerved his manner of Living, that tended to ſoften the Minds of his Soldiers, that they paſſed the Winter in Houſes, and conſumed the Subſtance of their Landlords, they marched with a Deſign to attack them, in Hopes the Inhabitants, who had been ſo rigorouſly uſed, would join with them. *Antoninus* prepared to receive them, but he did not come to an Engagement with them, becauſe he was ſlain in the midſt of his Guards, in whom he had repoſed a perfect Confidence, and for whom he had always a ſingular Eſteem.

The Royal Sepulchres of the *Parthian* Kings deſtroyed by *Caracalla* may well be ſuppoſed to have been erected in a Tower at *Echatana* in *Media*, that was built many Ages before by *Daniel* the Prophet, of which [a] *Joſephus* gives this Account. *Daniel*, by his Way of Conduct, having gained the univerſal Eſteem of a Perſon highly in Favour both with God and Man, he erected a ſtately Fabrick at *Echatana* the Capital of *Media*, a Work every way wonderful, as well for the Structure and Strength of it, as for Beauty. The Building is ſtill to be ſeen, and looks as freſh and as firm at this inſtant, as if it had been finiſhed but the Day you firſt ſaw it, without any Decays of Time or Age to be ſeen upon it; whereas, it fares with other Edifices as with human Bodies: Time wears them out, and disfigures them. This Tower is famous for being the Royal Monument of the Kings of the *Medes*, *Perſians*

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12.

and *Parthians*, to which Uſe it is ſtill applied, and the Place likewiſe committed to the Cuſtody of a *Jewiſh* Prieſt to this very Day.

[a] After the Death of this wicked Emperor, the *Roman* Army was in great Irreſolution and Uncertainty what to do; ſo there was an Interregnum for two Days, which were ſpent in Debates and Deliberations about a Succeſſor. They had receiv'd Advice that *Artabanus* the *Parthian* King was advancing againſt them with a mighty Force, being reſolved to purſue his Revenge, and to ſacrifice the Legions to the Ghoſts of his Subjects, whom they had treacherouſly murder'd in a time of Peace and feſtival Solemnity. The Choice fell upon *Audentius*, who was reckoned upon as a Man of great Courage and Experience in the Art of War; but he excuſed himſelf, alledging his Incapacity for ſo important a Charge, by Reaſon of his great Age; then they made choice of *Macrinus*. The Army in this Election being determined rather by the Neceſſity of the Conjuncture, than by any Eſteem or Confidence they had in the Perſon elected. Ær. Arsac. 474.

[b] While theſe Things were in Agitation *Artabanus* approached with a great Army, compoſed of a great Force of Cavalry, and Archers, and Cuiraſſiers, that rode upon Camels, and fought with long Spears. *Macrinus* calling his Soldiers together harangued them to the following Effect.

[a] Herod. lib. 4. [b] Herod. ibid.

MACRINUS

MACRINUS his Speech to the Army.

I do not wonder, Gentlemen, that you are ſo deeply afflicted with the Loſs of ſuch a Prince, or rather of a fellow Soldier; but it is the part of a wiſe Man to bear all the Traverſes of Fortune with Steadineſs and Moderation: His Memory ſhall for ever be preſerved in our Breaſts, and handed down to Poſterity, with the immortal Glory of his great and noble Atchievements: Nor ſhall we ever forget his ſingular Love of you, which he teſtified in ſo unuſual a Condeſcenſion, even by ſtooping to the common Duties of the meaneſt Soldier. But now that we have paid the Honours due to his Memory, and diſcharged all Debts of that Nature, it concerns us to conſult our own Welfare and Security. Artabanus *the* Parthian *King is advanced againſt us with the whole Power of the Eaſt, and ſeems to have juſt Ground of Quarrel againſt us. We were the Aggreſſors; we infringed the Treaty, and made War upon him in the profoundeſt Tranquillity: And now, Gentlemen, the whole* Roman *Empire relies upon your Courage and Fidelity. The Point in Diſpute is not about Rivers or Boundaries, our whole Fortunes lie at Stake. A mighty Potentate comes againſt us to execute Revenge for the Murther of his Children and Relations, who, he ſays, were unjuſtly maſſacred, and in manifeſt Violation of the moſt ſolemn Leagues. My Advice is that you ſtand to your Arms, and be careful to keep your Ranks according to the* Roman *Diſcipline. The Barbarians are an unformed irregular Multitude; their very Numbers will be an Hindrance to them, whilſt your Order and military Skill will not only preſerve you from Danger, but give you great Ad-*

vantages over the Enemy. Take Heart therefore and behave yourſelves as Romans *ought to do, and you have done hitherto: If you vanquiſh, you will not only reap the Glory which this Action deſerves, but this will be the moſt effectual Method of convincing* Rome *and the World, that your former Victory over them was not gained by Treachery and Surpriſe, but by true Valour and Force of Arms.*

* After he had ſpoken, the Soldiers ſeeing the Neceſſity of the preſent Juncture of Affairs, ranged themſelves in Battel array, and ſtood to their Arms. As ſoon as the Sun roſe *Artabanus* came in ſight with a vaſt Army; and the Barbarians, after they had worſhiped the Sun with the uſual Ceremonies of thoſe Countries, made the Onſet with terrible Shouts. The Cavalry began the Charge with a Volley of Arrows: The *Romans* were marſhalled with great Caution, and ſtood in very good Order: The Mooriſh Cavalry was placed in both the Wings; in the Lanes between the Ranks were poſted light Horſemen, that were ready to ſally out upon Occaſion. Thus embattled they ſupported with great Firmneſs the Charge of the Barbarians, who galled them extremely with the Multitude of their Arrows, and the long Spears which the Cuiraſſiers fought with from their Horſes and Camels: On the other hand, whenever they came to cloſe Combat, the *Romans* had ſtill the better; but when they found themſelves preſſed by the Enemies Horſe and Camels, which were very numerous, they feigned a Flight, and ſo decoyed the Barbarians among

* Herod. ibid.

ſharp

ſharp Iron Stakes and other Engines, that were prepared beforehand. Theſe Stakes were covered with Sand ſo well that they were not diſcovered, which made this Stratagem prove very fatal to the Enemies Horſe; for as ſoon as they rode among them, their Horſes, but eſpecially their Camels, that have tender Hoofs, began to halt, and throw their Riders to the Ground. Now the *Parthians*, as long as they are on Horſeback, behave themſelves very manfully; but whenever they come to diſmount, or fall from their Horſes, they are eaſily taken, and are not able to bear the Shock of a cloſe Engagement; beſide, they are ſo incumber'd, by a looſe Garment about their Legs, that they can neither fly nor purſue. The Engagement laſted two whole Days from Sunriſe to Sunſet, till the Night coming on put an end to it; at which time they returned to their reſpective Camps, each eſteeming the Advantage to be on his own ſide. The third Day both ſides drew their Armies out into the Field; and the *Parthians*, who were far the moſt numerous, endeavoured to ſurround the *Romans*; but they diſappointed them, by enlarging the Front of their Army to a great Breadth, without any conſiderable Depth. The Number of the Men and Beaſts that were ſlain were ſo great that they filled the Field: The dead Bodies were piled up to a vaſt height, eſpecially the Camels that fell one upon another in great Numbers, which cut off all Poſſibility of engaging; for the Armies could neither ſee nor come at one another, by Reaſon of a vaſt and almoſt unſurmountable Heap of dead Bodies that lay between them; ſo both retired to their ſeveral Camps.

[a] And now *Macrinus* understanding that the Reason why *Artabanus* fought with so much Fury and Obstinacy was, because he thought *Antoninus* was his Enemy [it being generally observed, that the Barbarians are soon discouraged, and sink as it were under the Fatigue, if they don't meet with fortunate Succels in their first Rencounters; but now they stood it out, and were resolved to renew the Battel as soon as the dead Bodies were removed and burnt, not knowing that the Author of this Quarrel was dead] he sent Embassadors to him with Letters, wherein he gave him to understand, that the Emperor, who had violated his Oath and League with him, was killed, and had receiv'd the Punishment due to his Offence: That the *Romans*, to whom the Empire of right belonged, had put the Sovereign Power into his Hands: That he disapproved the late Proceedings of his Predecessor, and therefore he would restore all the Prisoners that were alive with the whole Booty that he had brought away, and would enter into a strict League and Amity with him, which should be ratified with Oaths and Sacrifices.

[b] *Artabanus* read the Letter, and receiving a particular Account from the Embassadors of the Assassination of *Antoninus*, thought he had paid dear enough for the Infraction of a League; and being well satisfied with the Restitution of the Prisoners and Booty, without any farther Bloodshed, concluded a Peace, and returned Home; and *Macrinus* leaving *Mesopotamia*, marched with his Army to *Antioch*.

[a] Ibid. [b] Ibid.

[a] The

[a] The Account of this Action is otherwiſe given by *Dio*: *Macrinus* hearing that *Artabanus* made great Levies, and prepared in earneſt for War, endeavoured to pacify him by remitting Priſoners to him, and writing to him in very obliging Terms. But *Artabanus*, very far from being willing to agree upon reaſonable Conditions, demanded the Re-eſtabliſhment of ſuch Cities as had been deſtroyed, the Reſtitution of all *Meſopotamia*, and Reparation for the Ruin of the Royal Tombs. Whereupon *Macrinus*, without loſing time in Conſultations, advanced towards *Niſibis*, where the Enemies were arrived, came to an Engagement with them, upon the Occaſion of an Incampment which both Parties aimed at for the Conveniency of Water, and was defeated: He gave them Battel a ſecond time, which ſucceeding no better than the firſt: He was conſtrained to buy a Peace, and to give *Artabanus* and his Officers above fifteen Millions of Drachmas. [b] *Spartian* obſerves only upon this Occaſion, that *Macrinus* being eſtabliſhed in the Empire, he made great Preparations to continue the War againſt the *Parthians*, and propoſed to aboliſh the Infamy of his former Life, and the Baſeneſs of his Birth, by the Greatneſs of his Victories: He engaged the Enemy as they were commanded by *Artabanus* their King, who fought obſtinately; but a Peace was afterwards concluded, and *Macrinus* returned to *Antioch*.

While he continued in that City, he ſent Letters, ſays [c] *Herodian*, directed to the Senate

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 78. [b] Spartianus in Macrino.
[c] Herod. lib. 5.

and

and People of *Rome*; inſiſting, among other of his Exploits, that he had put an honourable end to the *Parthian* War, that he had made the whole Empire tremble: That in the Action of the War they came no way ſhort of the Enemy in Proweſs and Gallantry: That by the Peace which he had concluded, a formidable Enemy that was advanced againſt them with a puiſſant Force was become their Friend and Ally. The Senate, according to their Way, immediately decreed Sacrifices for his Victories, and gave him out of Flattery the Title of *Parthicus*; but he refuſed it, being conſcious, ſays the [a] Hiſtorian, how baſe it would have been to aſſume a Name from an Enemy by whom he was ſubdued. *Macrinus* was ſoon after ſlain, and *Varius Antoninus Heliogabulus* ſucceeded him in the Empire.

The Peace concluded by *Macrinus* ſubſiſted between the two Empires during the Life of *Heliogabulus*, who was ſlain, and ſucceeded by *Alexander Severus*. About this time died *Tiridates* King of *Armenia*, and the *Parthian* King placed his Brother *Arſaces* in the Throne, after the Cuſtom of his Progenitors. But *Artabanus*, who took upon him to give away the Crown of a neighbouring Nation, ſoon loſt his own Kingdom and his Life; and in him indeed ended the Sovereignty, and the very Name of the *Parthian* Monarchy. [b] He was conquered and ſlain by one *Artaxerxes* a Rebel, of ſo mean a Deſcent, as to be the Son of one *Paucctus* a *Perſian* that tan'd Hides. The moſt particular

[a] Dio Caſſ. lib. 78.
[b] Procopius lib. 3. de Ædific. Juſtiniani.

Account of this ſtrange Revolution is given by *Herodian* [a] in this manner.

Ær. Arsac. 480. In the fourteenth Year of *Alexander Severus* (*Agathias* [b], with more Exactneſs, ſays the fourth) there came Letters from the Prefects of *Syria* and *Meſopotamia* with the following Advices. That *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia* having conquered *Parthia*, and ſubdued the Kingdoms of the Eaſt, and killed the Great King *Artabanus* (who was the firſt that had bore that Title, and wore a double Diadem) had reduced under his Dominion all the barbarous Nations on that ſide, and made them tributary; and not being content with his Acquiſitions on the other ſide the *Tigris*, had paſſed the River, made an Impreſſion upon the *Roman* Frontiers, over-run *Meſopotamia*, threatened *Syria*, and all the Continent that lies oppoſite to *Europe*, which is called *Aſia*, and is bounded by the *Propontis* and the *Ægean*, pretending that theſe vaſt Tracts were the Poſſeſſions of his Anceſtors, and as ſuch he would reunite them to the *Perſian* Empire: And farther ſetting forth, that from the Reign of *Cyrus*, who firſt tranſlated the Empire from the *Medes* to the *Perſians*, to the times of *Darius* who was vanquiſhed, and depoſed by the *Macedonian* Arms, all thoſe Countries, as far as *Ionia* and *Caria*, were governed by *Perſian* Viceroys, and that he eſteemed himſelf in honour bound to cauſe Reſtitution to be made of all the antient Dependences of the *Perſian* Empire.

This unexpected News, as the [c] Hiſtorian goes on, extremely alarmed *Alexander*, who had been bred up in the Softneſs and Luxury of

[a] Herod. lib. 6. [b] Agathias lib. 4. [c] Herodian ibid.

Rome, and had enjoyed hitherto an uninterrupted Calm. However, his Council was convened, and he communicated to them his Intelligence; whereupon it was reſolved that Embaſſadors ſhould be diſpatched with Letters, which it was believed would check the Hopes and Attempts of theſe barbarous Invaders.

[a] In purſuance of theſe Reſolutions Letters were ſent, purporting, that they ought to content themſelves with their own Territories, and not endeavour to enlarge them by new Conqueſts: That they ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be blown up by vain Hopes, to engage in a War with a powerful Enemy: That they could not expect the ſame fortunate Iſſue of their Combats with the *Romans*, which they had found againſt their barbarous Neighbours; and reminded them withal of the Victories heretofore obtained over them by *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, *Lucius* and *Severus*. Theſe Letters the Emperor thought would either perſuade or terrify the Barbarian into a Diſpoſition to be quiet; but they made no Impreſſion upon him. *Artaxerxes* thought that it was not Words but the Sword muſt do his Buſineſs, and therefore he puſhed on the War with greater Vigour, ſpoiling and waſting all the *Roman* Territory. *Meſopotamia* he ravaged both with his Foot and Cavalry, and began to carry off the Plunder; attack'd the *Roman* Camps that were pitched on the Banks of the Rivers to cover the Frontiers of the Empire, and being naturally arrogant, and at this time elevated by his late unexpected Succeſſes, he thought eaſily to ſurmount all Oppoſition: Many and weighty Mo-

[a] Ibid.

tives

tives conſpired to make him deſire an Enlargement of his Empire. He was the firſt that had dared to make a War upon the *Parthians*, and had, after a long Interval, retrieved the *Perſian* Monarchy; for (as the Hiſtorian goes on) after the Overthrow of *Darius* by the Arms of *Macedon*, the *Macedonians*, and thoſe that ſucceeded *Alexander*, for a long Series of time, ſhared *Aſia* and the Kingdoms of the Eaſt among themſelves, exerciſing Regal Authority in their reſpective Territories; until *Arſaces* the *Parthian* taking Advantage of their Animoſities and frequent Wars, by which the *Macedonian* Force was conſiderably weakened, perſuaded the Barbarians on that ſide to a general Revolt, and was elected their Ruler by the unanimous Conſent of *Parthia*, and the adjoining Countries, and accordingly he reigned over them, and his Empire continued in his Family for ſeveral Ages, deſcending in an uninterrupted Courſe of Succeſſion, till it devolved on *Artabanus*, whom *Artaxerxes* ſubdued and ſlew, and re-eſtabliſhed the *Perſian* Monarchy.

Thus the *Parthian* Empire expired, and was tranſlated to the *Perſians*, after it had flouriſhed with great Glory and various Fortune for four hundred and eighty one Years.

THE END.

INDEX.

A.

ABDUS, *a* Parthian *Nobleman rebels*, page 212. *Is poiſoned*, p. 213.
Andromachus, *an Account of his Treachery*, p. 106.
Anilæus, *a* Jew *of* Nearda *in the Province of* Babylon, *diſturbs the* Parthian *Empire*, p. 199. *Goes to the King of* Parthia, p. 202. *He routs the Son-in-law of the* Parthian *King*, p. 208. *Is ſlain*, p. 211.
Antigonus, *his Attempt upon the Kingdom of* Judea, p. 126.
Antioch, *by whom built*, p. 111.
Antiochus Sidetes, *King of* Syria, *his Expedition into* Parthia, *his Luxury*, &c. p. 38. *Is ſlain*, p. 40.
Antiochus, *King of* Comagena, *his Diſtreſs and Misfortunes*, p. 313, *&c.*
Antoninus Caracalla, *the* Roman *Empire barbarouſly murders the* Alexandrians, p. 356. *And kills a Number of the* Parthians *by Treachery*, p. 359.
Antonius, Marc Anthony, *his Deſign upon the City* Palmyra, p. 123. *Makes an Expedition into* Parthia, p. 145. *Beſieges* Phraata, *the Capital of* Media, p. 148. *The Manner of his proſecuting the* Parthian *War*, p. 150, 151. *His retreat from* Parthia, p. 161. *His Expedition into* Armenia, p. 168. *Makes an Alliance with the King of the* Medes, p. 169.
Apollonius *of* Tyana, *his Behaviour at the* Parthian *Court*, p. 237, *&c.*
Ariamnes, *a ſubtle* Arabian, *impoſes upon* Craſſus *the* Roman *General*, p. 90.
Armenia, *the greater and the leſs, revolts from the* Syrian *Empire*, p. 23.
Arſaces, *Founder of the* Parthian *Empire*, p. 2. *The Occaſion and Manner of his Revolt*, p. 7. *The Title of all the Kings of* Parthia, p. 8. *The Deſcent of* Arſaces *and his Death*, p. 9.
Arſacidæ, *the* Parthians *ſo called*, p. 9.
Artabanus I. *King of* Parthia, *his Wars with* Antiochus, *King of* Syria, p. 18. *His Death*, p. 23.
Artabanus II. *his Reign and Death*, p. 44.
Artabanus III. *a King of* Media, *ſeizes upon the Kingdom of* Parthia, p. 194. *His Character*, p. 212. *Flies out of his Kingdom*, p. 218. *But again gets Poſſeſſion*, p. 223.

223. *Deſpiſes* Tiberius *the* Roman *Emperor*, p. 224. *Sacrifices to the Images of* Auguſtus, p. 226. *Flies to* Izates, *King of* Adiabena, p. 228. *Recovers his Kingdom and dies*, p. 231.

Artabanus IV. *King of* Parthia. p. 354. *His Daughter courted by* Antoninus Caracalla, *the* Roman *Emperor*, p. 357. *Is in Danger of his Life by the Treachery of the Emperor*, p. 359. *He makes Peace with* Macrinus, *the* Roman *Emperor*, p. 367. *Is ſlain*, p. 370.

Artabaſus, *King of* Armenia, *his Treachery to* Mark Anthony, p. 146. *Is led Captive with his Wife and Children*, p. 169. *Is ſlain*, p. 171.

Artavaſdes, *King of* Armenia, *invaded by the* Parthians, p. 88. *An Account of his Learning*, p. 113.

Artavaſdes, *King of the* Medes, *taken Captive by the King of* Parthia, p. 170. *Eſcapes and recovers his Crown*, p. 171.

Artaxerxes *a* Perſian, *kills the King of* Parthia, *and tranſlates the Kingdom to the* Mede, p. 369.

Aſinæus, *a* Jew, *raiſes a Commotion in the Province of* Babylon, p. 199. *Routs the Governour of* Babylon, p. 202. *Is poiſoned*, p. 207.

Atteius, *a* Roman *Tribune, his Conduct*, p. 81.

Auguſtus Cæſar *recovers the* Roman *Enſigns, taken by the* Parthians, p. 175. *He builds a Temple upon that Occaſion*, p. 176.

Avidius Caſſius, *his Conduct and Succeſs againſt the* Parthians, p. 337. *Is ſlain*, p. 342.

Azara, *a Temple dedicated to* Minerva, p. 31.

B.

BActria, *a Kingdom taken from the* Syrian *Empire*, p. 7.

Bardanes, *King of* Parthia, *his Character*, p. 233. *His Conference with* Apollonius *of* Tyana, p. 240, &c. *Is treacherouſly ſlain*, p. 249.

Barzapharnes, *a* Parthian *General his Treachery*, p. 129.

Bibulus, *General of the* Romans, *his Cowardice*, p. 118.

C.

CÆſennius Pætus, *Governor of* Armenia, p. 290. *Is diſtreſſed by the* Parthian *King*, p. 294. *Is pardoned by* Nero, p. 301.

Caius Cæſar, *his Expedition into the* Eaſt, p. 180. *Has an Interview with the* Parthian *King*, p. 182. *Dies at* Lamyra, *a City of* Lycia, p. 184.

Caſſius, *his Advice to* Craſſus, p. 91. *His Conduct after the Death of* Craſſus, p. 115. *His Death*, p. 123.
Choſroes, *King of* Parthia, p. 321. *Driven out of his Dominions by the Emperor* Trajan, p. 328. *Recovers his Kingdom under the Emperor* Hadrian *and dies*, p. 331.
Clodius, *a* Roman *Nobleman, his Character*, p. 73.
Corbulo, *a* Roman *General Governor of* Armenia, p. 271. *His Military Diſcipline*, p. 273. *His Conduct and Succeſs in* Armenia, p. 278. *He takes* Artaxata, *the Capital*, p. 280. *Is put to Death by* Nero, p. 305.
Craſſus, *his Covetouſneſs, Ambition*, p. 80. *Sets out upon his* Parthian *Expedition with ill Omens*, p. 81. *He plunders the Temple of* Jeruſalem, p. 83. *His Behaviour in* Syria, p. 85. *Ill Omens at his paſſing the* Euphrates, p. 89. *His Manner of engaging with the* Parthians, p. 97. *Is over-reached by the Treachery of* Surena, p. 108. *And ſlain*, p. 111. *His Head and Hand preſented to the* Parthian *King*, p. 114.
Craſſus *the younger, his Character*, p. 85. *His Bravery and Conduct againſt the* Parthians, p. 99. *Is ſlain*, p. 101.
Cteſiphon, *a Village, the Winter Reſidence of the* Parthian *Kings*, p. 248.

D.

DAniel, *the Sepulchres of the* Parthian *Kings, ſuppoſed to have been built by the Prophet* Daniel, p. 362.
Demetrius Nicator, *King of* Syria, *taken Captive by the* Parthian *King*, p. 34. *Bound with Golden Chains*, p. 38. *Recovers his Kingdom*, p. 41.
Demetrius Euchærus, *a Priſoner in* Parthia, p. 48.

E.

EAgle, *the* Roman Eagle, *among the* Romans *deſcribed*. p. 83.
Eleazer, *a Prieſt of* Jeruſalem, *cheated by* Craſſus *the Conſul*, p. 82.
Eucratides, *King of* Bactria, *ſlain by his Son*, p. 32.

F.

FLavius Gallus, *a* Roman *Officer, ſlain by the* Parthians, p. 154.

G.

GErmanicus, *the Government of the* Eaſt *decreed to him*, p. 195. *Dies in* Syria, p. 198.
Gotarzes, *King of* Parthia, *reſigns his Kingdom*, p. 234. *Recovers his Throne*, p. 250. *His Succeſs and Death*, p. 254.

INDEX.

H.

HEcatompylos, *a City built by the* Macedonians, p. 9.
Herod, *the Son of* Antipater, *his Conteſts with* Antigonus, p. 128.
Himerus, *Viceroy of* Parthia, *his Character*, p. 42.
Hircanus, *deceived and put to Death by* Herod, p. 144.

I.

IGnatius, *a* Roman *Officer, his Conduct*, p. 104.
Julius Pelignus, *Governor of* Cappadocia, *his Character*, p. 267.
Izates, *King of* Adiabena, p. 227. *Reſtores the King of* Parthia *to his Throne*, p. 230. *Is invaded by* Vologeſes I. *King of* Parthia, p. 260.

L.

LAbienus, *a* Roman *General*, p. 124. *His Victories*, p. 125. *Aſſumes the Title of Emperor of the* Parthians, p. 132. *Is put to Death*, p. 135.
Lentils and Salt ſet before the dead, p. 89.
Lucullus, *a* Roman *General receives Embaſſadors from the* Parthian *King*, p. 63. *Reſolves upon a War againſt the* Parthians, *but is diſappointed*, p. 64.

M.

MAcrinus, *the* Roman *Emperor, engages with the* Parthian *King*, p. 367.
Media *becomes Tributary to the* Parthian *Empire*, p. 170.
Meherdates, *a* Parthian *Prince ſent by* Claudius *the* Roman *Emperor to take Poſſeſſion of the Throne of* Parthia, p. 251. *Is defeated and has his Ears cut off*, p. 255.
Mithridates I. *King of* Parthia, p. 28. *His Wars and Victories*, p. 30. *He conquers* Babylon *and* Perſia, p. 32. *And* India, p. 33. *His Death*, p. 35.
Mithridates II. *his Reign*, p. 46. *The firſt Correſpondence between the* Roman *and the* Parthian *Empires under this Prince*, p. 49. *His Death*, p. 50.
Mithridates, *King of* Pontus, *his Letter to the* Parthian *King*, p. 57. *Applies to the King of* Armenia *for Refuge, but is denied*, p. 67.
Mithridates III. *King of* Parthia, *his Reign*, p. 73. *Is dethroned by his Subjects*, p. 75. *Flies to the* Romans, p. 76. *Is ſlain by his Brother*, p. 78.

Mithridates, *Brother to the King of the* Hiberi, *invades* Armenia, p. 214. *Obtains the Kingdom*, p. 217. *But is driven out of it by the* Parthian *King*, p. 225. *Is treacherouſly ſlain*, p. 266.
Mnaskires,, *a King of* Parthia, *his Reign and Death*, p. 51, *&c.*
Monæſes, *a* Parthian *Nobleman, flies to* Anthony, p. 144. *Is ſent Home*, p. 155.
Monneſes, *King of* Parthia, p. 339. *Is dethroned*, p. 340.

O.

OCtavius, *a* Roman *Officer, his Death*, p. 110.
Orodes, *a* Parthian *King, dethrones his elder Brother and ſucceeds him*, p. 75. *Is invaded by* Craſſus, *the* Roman *Conſul*, p. 87. *An Enemy to* Julius Cæſar, p. 121. *Runs mad for the Loſs of his Son*, p. 140. *The Manner of his Death*, p. 141.
Orodes II. *King of* Parthia *is ſlain*, p. 188.

P.

PAcorus, *Son of the King of* Parthia, *his Succeſs*, p. 121. *Is ſlain*, p. 138. *His Character*, p. 139.
Pacorus, *King of* Parthia, p. 319. *Builds a Wall about the City of* Cteſiphon, p. 320.
Palmyra, *a City by whom built*, p. 123.
Parthamaſiris, *a* Parthian *Prince, his Behaviour before the Emperor* Trajan, p. 325.
Parthamaſpates, *made King of* Parthia, *by the Emperor* Trajan, p. 329.
Parthia, *ſubdued by* Alexander, p. 1.
Parthian, *the Original, Government, Cuſtoms, Manners, &c. of the* Parthians, p. 2, 3, *&c. Their Armour and Way of fighting*, p. 96. *Their Kings, generally born of* Grecian *Strumpets*, p. 113.
Pericles, *killed for a Sodomitical Attempt*, p. 8.
Pharaſmanes, *King of the* Hiberi, *invades* Armenia, p. 214. *Overcomes the* Parthians, p. 216.
Phaſael, *Son of* Antipater, *is circumvented by the* Parthians, p. 129. *Daſhes out his Brains*, p. 131.
Phrahataces, *King of* Parthia, *is ſlain by his Subjects*, p. 187.
Phrahates I. *King of* Parthia, *his Reign*, p. 26.
Phrahates II. *His Reign*, p. 36. *Is ſlain*, p. 43.
Phrahates III. *His Reign*, p. 56. *A Letter to him from* Mithridates, *King of* Pontus, p. 57. *Invades* Armenia, *but without Succeſs*, p. 67. *Is routed by the* Romans, p. 70.

p. 70. *Makes Peace with the King of* Armenia, p. 72. *Is ſlain by his Sons,* ibid.
Phrahates IV. *Murders his Father and is declared King,* p. 142. *Is driven into Baniſhment by his Subjects,* p. 172. *But recovers his Kingdom,* p. 173. *Is murder'd,* p. 185.
Phriapatius, *King of* Parthia, *his Reign,* p. 24.
Pompey *makes a Peace with the* Parthian *King,* p. 65. *Afraid of making Wars with the* Parthians, p. 71.

R.

RHadamiſtus, *the Son of the King of the* Hiberi, *his Ambition,* p. 261. *His Treachery,* p. 262. *Is forced to fly out of* Armenia, p. 268. *His Barbarity,* p. 269.
Rhodaguna, *Daughter of the* Parthian *King, married to* Demetrius, *King of* Syria, p. 35.
Romans, *a Character of their Pride, Avarice, Ambition,* &c. p. 58, &c.

S.

SAxa, *a General under* Marc Anthony *ſlain,* p. 125.
Seleucus, *King of* Syria, *taken Priſoner by the King of* Parthia, p. 15.
Severian, *a* Roman *General routed and ſlain by the* Parthians, p. 334.
Severus, *the* Roman *Emperor, his Expedition into the* Eaſt *and Succeſs,* p. 347.
Sextus Pompeius, *makes Overtures to the* Parthian *King,* p. 166.
Sinatrockes, *a* Parthian *King, his Reign and Death,* p. 54. *Invades* Parthia *and takes the City of* Cteſiphon, p. 351.
Sinnaces, *a* Parthian *Nobleman rebels,* p. 212.
Statanor, *Governor of* Parthia, p. 1.
Statianus, *a* Roman *General, ſlain by the* Parthians, p. 148.
Surena, *a* Parthian *Nobleman, whoſe Office it was by Birth to crown their Kings,* p. 75. *His Grandeur, Equipage and Character,* p. 92. *An Account of his Perſon and Carriage,* p. 96. *His Treachery,* p. 108. *Put to Death by the King of* Parthia, p. 111. *He makes a Mock-Triumph upon the Death of* Craſſus, p. 112.
Sylla, *Prætor of* Aſia, *received Embaſſadors from the* Parthian *King,* p. 49. *A remarkable Prediction concerning him by a* Chaldean *Soothſayer,* p. 53.
Syringis, *the capital City of* Hircania. p. 21.

INDEX.

T.

Temple of Jeruſalem *plunder'd by* Craſſus, p. 83.
Teſtudo, *a military Engine particularly deſcribed*, p. 159.
Thermuſa, *an* Italian *Woman, firſt a Concubine, then a Wife to* Phrahates IV. p. 174. *Secures the Kingdom for her Son*, p. 178.
Tigranes, *King of* Armenia, *his Victories*, p. 48. *Is invited to be King of* Syria, p. 49. *His Conqueſts over the* Parthians, Syrians, *&c.* p. 52. *He marries* Cleopatra, *Daughter of* Mithridates, *King of* Pontus, p. 56. *His Sons conſpire againſt him*, p. 66. *He impriſons the Embaſſadors of* Mithridates, p. 67. *Reſigns himſelf and Kingdom to* Pompey, p. 68.
Tigranes, *the Son of the* Armenian *King flies to* Pompey, p. 67. *By whom he is put in Chains*, p. 69. *Eſcapes from* Rome, *and attempts the recovery of* Armenia *without Succeſs*, p. 75.
Tiridates, *a Sodomitical Attempt upon him*, p. 7. *King of* Parthia, *his Reign*, p. 10. *His Wars with* Seleucus, *King of* Syria, p. 14. *His Death and Character*, p. 16.
Tiridates, *a Nobleman of* Parthia, *his Attempt upon that Crown*, p. 172. *But without Succeſs*, p. 174. *Is at laſt crowned King of* Parthia, p. 222. *But driven out of the Kingdom*, p. 223.
Tiridates, *Brother of* Vologeſes I. *His Conteſts for the Crown of* Armenia, p. 278, 279, &c. *Is crowned King*, p. 287. *Submits to receive his Diadem from the* Roman *Emperor*, p. 304. *His Character, Journey, and Reception at* Rome, p. 306. *He receives his Crown from* Nero, p. 311. *In great Danger of his Life*, p. 317.
Trajan, *the* Roman *Emperor, reſolves upon an Expedition, into* Armenia, p. 322. *Invades* Parthia, p. 326. *Takes the City of* Cteſiphon, p. 327.

V.

Vitellius, *his Conduct againſt the* Parthians, p. 217. *Has a Conference with the* Parthian *King, on a Bridge over the* Euphrates, p. 225.
Vologeſes, *King of* Parthia, p. 258. *Invades* Armenia, p. 261. *He crowns his Brother* Tiridates, *King of* Armenia, p. 287. *Makes Peace with the* Romans, p. 312. *Breaks the Peace and dies*, p. 318.

Vologeſas II. *King of* Parthia, p. 332. *Makes War upon the* Romans, p. 334. *Is driven out of his Kingdom by his Subjects*, p. 338. *Recovers his Throne*, p. 342. *Dies*, p. 343.

Vologeſes III. *King of* Parthia, p. 332. *Invades* Armenia, p. 344. *His Territories invaded and deſtroyed by the Emperor* Severus, p. 351. *His Death*, p. 353.

Ventidius, *a* Roman *General, his Succeſs*, p. 134. *His Stratagem to ſurprize the* Parthians, p. 136. *Had a Triumph decreed him by the Senate*, p. 139.

Vonones, *King of* Parthia, *put to flight by* Artabanus, *King of* Media, p. 162. *Retires to* Antioch *with all his Treaſure*, p. 194. *Is murdered by* Vibius Fronto, *a* Roman *Captain*, p. 197.

Vonones II. *King of* Parthia, *his Character and Death*, p. 256.

Z.

ZEnobia, *an unfortunate Lady, her Caſe*, p. 269.

Zenodotia, *a City of* Meſopotamia, p. 85.

Zeugma, *a City upon the* Euphrates, p. 83.